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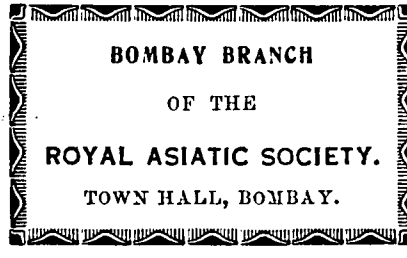

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THE

LIFE OF BABER.

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LONDON:

PRINTED BY MOYES AND BARCLAY, CASTLE STREET,
LEICESTER SQUARE.

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Map of
MAWERAL NAHAR,
KHORASAN,
&
Cabul.
HINDOO KOOSH MOUNTAINS
Tashkend
Kassan
Andejan
Shehrokh
KHWARISM.
FERGHANA
Sirr or Jaxartes R.
Andejan
Naryn R.
Kokan
Khodjend
Ush
Aksou
Kashgar
Tashkurgan
Yarkand
Khotan
Kilian
Aksou R.
Yarkand R.
Kashgar R.
Kilian R.
Khotan R.
Yurungkash R.
Karakash R.
Tashkurgan R.
Pamer R.
Oxus R.
Kokcha R.
Kunduz R.
Panjsher R.
Cabul R.
Indus R.
Jelum R.
Chenaub R.
Ravee R.
Sutlej R.
Jumna R.
Ganges R.
Gogra R.
Gunduck R.
Kosy R.
Burrampooter R.
Irrawaddy R.
Salween R.
Menam R.
Mekong R.
Yang-tse-kiang R.
Hoang-ho R.
Amoor R.
Lena R.
Yenisei R.
Obi R.
Irtish R.
Ural R.
Volga R.
Don R.
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Vistula R.
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Po R.
Tiber R.
Arno R.
Ebro R.
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Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
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Loire R.
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Thames R.
Severn R.
Shannon R.
Liffey R.
Boyne R.
Tweed R.
Clyde R.
Forth R.
Tay R.
Spey R.
Dee R.
Don R.
Tyne R.
Humber R.
Trent R.
Ouse R.
Wye R.
Avon R.
Thames R.
Medway R.
Mersey R.
Dee

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PREFACE.

THE life of Baber written by himself, has always been received as genuine, and no one who reads it can doubt his sincerity. There are very few instances of exaggeration in it, and they may be imputed to credulity. The chief portion of it was translated by Dr. Leyden, and the remainder by William Erskine, Esq. The Jaghatai Toorki, in which it is composed, is spoken to this day from the Caspian Sea to the Chinese frontier, throughout the territory governed by Jaghatai, the second son of Zinghis Khan. It is radically the same with that of the European Turks, the Turcomans, and several Tartar tribes; so that a native of Romelia can make himself understood near the confines of Thibet and China. In the fifteenth century it had received a copious infusion of Arabic and Persian words. It is easy to account for that. The Arabians conquered Transoxiana

in the eighth century of our era. The Turks, who came after them, hated a city life: they had no skill in the manufacture of needles or crimson velvet, and scorned to cultivate the soil for the sake of what they called the top of a weed, meaning wheat, so that both land and towns remained very much in the occupation of the natives, a handsome race, who spoke Persian. By marriage and social intercourse with them during many centuries before the time of Baber, the features, and manners, and language of the Turks, were all simultaneously improved. Moreover all religious and literary knowledge was to be obtained by the Turks from Mahometans, whose native tongue was the Persian, and who were educated in Arabian lore.

In this abridgement many geographical descriptions have been altered and enlarged with the aid of later authorities, and it has not been thought needful to trouble the reader with notices to distinguish every word that does not come from the pen of Baber.

If the taste of any one should be offended by the motley assemblage of facts and sentiments contained in this book, he is requested to bear in mind that it has been my design to convey an adequate conception of the original memoir,

which, being a picture of real life, is filled with revolting inconsistencies, and contains the account of heinous crimes. To some the Turkish names may have an unwelcome sound; but they will do well to reflect how harsh and outlandish the names of Hastings, and Cornwallis, and other noble Englishmen, may appear to a Rajah of Sattara or a King of Oude. It was not without reason that Mirza Abu Talib, who wrote his travels through Europe in 1803, made an apology to his countrymen for the number of barbarous appellations he was obliged to introduce.

The Oriental names of persons and places are varied so much in different books that I have thought it desirable not to keep to one rule, but to write Zinghis and Tchingis, Ghazni and Ghuznee, Heri and Herat, Timour and Taimur. In some histories the country north of the Oxus is called Transoxiana, in others Turkistan, or Turan, and in this volume more commonly Maweralnahar.

It remains for me to crave indulgence for a first performance executed in solitude and without the knowledge of any Oriental tongue.

To be occupied in recording the thoughts and actions of other men, instead of original composition, is a task that may be likened to the

operation of those chemical substances called mordants, which are not used for dyes themselves, but serve to give permanence to other colours. If the reader of this memoir should derive from it any thing of more value than evanescent pleasure, his gratitude will be due to Dr. Leyden, a man who, although endowed with a talent for poetry, devoted himself to the study of Eastern languages; and no less to Mr. Erskine, to whom also I am deeply indebted for his kind assistance and encouragement.

Eastbourne, Oct. 23, 1844.

INTRODUCTION.

It has been said that Baber, like some other eminent men, was the offspring of two different races, his father being a Turk and his mother a Mogul. His father was fourth in descent from Timour, while his mother drew her lineage from Zinghis Khan. But that difference of blood was much less than there was in the parents of Thomas à Becket and the Emperor Charles the Fifth; for Timour and Zinghis had a common ancestor in Tumenah, a Mogul Khan of the tenth century, and on the female side Timour was lineally descended from Zinghis.

It has been a custom in Europe to apply the name of Tartar to the inhabitants of a very large portion of Asia from Crim Tartary to Peking, while the Hindoos have called every Mahometan of lighter hue than themselves a Mogul. In that way Baber, who detested the Moguls, came to be regarded as the founder of a Mogul dynasty in

Hindostan. On the other hand the Arabian invaders and Persian geographers gave the designation of Turk to the Moguls and Turks indiscriminately.

The Tartars were a tribe dwelling near the Lake Bouyir in the east of Mongolia. Their name is never mentioned by Baber. Whether any people now in Asia can rightly be called Tartar, it is not easy to ascertain.

The Turkish nations, which own the name of Toork, and are spread from the wall of China to the Danube and the Adriatic, derive their origin from the Hiongnu or Huns, a powerful race, who threatened the Chinese empire before the Christian era. Their various dialects bear an affinity to those of the other nomade nations, the Mongolians, Tungusians, and Finnish or Ug[illegible] race. One and all, so far as they have reta[illegible] their roving habits, have been nearly on a leve[illegible] regard to arts and manners. Their religion a[illegible] superstitions were in early time the same, a[illegible] their physical conformation not very differen[illegible] But those Turks, who have become settled re[illegible] dents in the south of Asia and Europe, have lo[illegible] been distinguished from the Moguls by the[illegible]

* See Prichard's Natural History of Man.

very features. Those of Turkistan have an European visage, a slender figure, a complexion rather yellow, curled hair, and a long beard. To judge from the encomiums of Persian poets, themselves of a handsome race, the Uzbeks were a beautiful people. Perhaps that was in comparison with the Moguls. The Mongolian head is round, the nose flat, the eyes long and narrow, obliquely descending toward the nose, as in the Chinese and in the tiger. The cheek-bones are prominent; they have thick lips, and enormous ears. Their teeth are very white and remain sound to their old age. We recognise the Mongolian type in the description given of Attila by Gibbon. "His portrait exhibits the deformity of a modern Calmuc; a large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-set eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, a short square body." Timour told one of the Khans of his time that the minds of Turks were narrow like their eyes. In the thirteenth century there were a few Mogul tribes intermingled with the inhabitants of that vast region which extends from Cashgar to the sea of Eagles, Aral. The Arabians being in contact chiefly with Turks, bestowed the name of Turkistan upon the whole tract as far as China, dividing it into east and west, the one

being on the east of the Cloudy Mountains, Belut Tagh, and the other on the west, including Bokhara and Khwarism. Our attention will be confined to the western portion, which Baber calls Maweralnahar. The slope of this region from the Cloudy Mountains is indicated by the course of the Amu and the Sihon or Jaxartes. This river was crossed by Alexander in sight of his Scythian enemies, and he built a town on the southern bank of it, said to be the modern Khojend. Maweralnahar is a land diversified with many varieties of soil: nearly the whole of Ferghana, the chief part of Khwarism, Balkh, Badakshan, Kesh and Hissar, being highly fertile, while the rest is uncultivated ground or sandy [illegible] serts. A strong north or north-westerly wi[nd] blows all over Turkistan and Khorasan for [a] hundred and twenty days after midsummer, a[nd] the trees all bend from the north. The valley [of] Sogd, which lies nearly in the same latitude wi[th] Madrid and Lisbon, is bounded on the nort[h-] west by the desert of Khwarism, and it ter[-] minates on the north-east in the White Moun[-] tains. It is rich in wheat, barley, millet, and cotton. The quince, the pomegranate, the fig, the apricot, the plum, the apple, and the grape, all flourish there, and the melons are the finest

in the world. Mulberries are abundant, and there is a considerable manufacture of silk. The cultivation of the soil is aided by artificial streams. The breed of horses is excellent, and the less fertile parts of the country are pastured by large flocks of sheep. The climate is very hot in summer and very cold in winter. The Jaxartes is frozen over every year, and the Amu to a considerable distance from Khwarism. The vale of Sogd has ever been deemed one of the most beautiful in Asia. It is watered by Zirefshan, the gold-shedding river Kohik, which rises near the White Mountains, Ak Tagh. All the way from Bokhara to Yar-ailak the country is in a high state of culture, and is studded with populous villages. It was in allusion to that vale, that Amir Taimur was wont to assert that he had a garden one-hundred-and-twenty miles in extent. When the Arabian armies crossed the Amu in the eighty-ninth year of the Hejira, A.D. 706; they gave the name of Maweralnahar, "the country beyond the river," to all the tract in possession of the Turks, including Ferghana. That kingdom was subjugated by them in the same year with Spain, A.D. 713. Their geographers of the tenth century, in describing Maweralnahar, expatiate on

the felicity of the climate, the fertile soil, and general prosperity of that province, the bountiful disposition of the inhabitants, their refinement and love of literature. All these flourished under the protection of Arabian Caliphs. These are the words of Ibn Haukal. "I have often been at Kohendiz, the ancient castle of Bokhara. I have cast my eyes around, and never have I seen a verdure more fresh or of wider extent. This green carpet mingled in the horizon with the azure of the sky. Such is the liberality of the inhabitants, that not one of them will decline the duties of hospitality. If a stranger arrives among them, they crowd around him: each wishes to have him; they dispute for the privilege; and he who obtains it becomes an object of envy: every one, though possessing no more than he requires, will carry to the abode of the stranger some portion of the fruits of his labour. The generosity of their hearts makes wealth in the bosom of poverty. In the country of Sogd I saw a large edifice like a palace, of which the gates were open and fastened back with nails to the walls. That house I was told had not been shut day or night for a hundred years. Strangers, in whatever number, may present themselves there a

any hour. The master has made provision both for men and their animals. He is never happier than when the guests remain for some time. Nothing of the kind have I seen otherwhere. The people of Maweralnahar with their savings build caravanserais, bridges, and other edifices of public utility. In the most dreary and desolate scene there is a house of entertainment furnished with every thing that a traveller can require. No people in the Mahometan world excel the natives of Maweralnahar in courage." In the age of Tchinghis Khan, Samarcand and Bokhara were superior in civilisation to every city of Europe. Bokhara is said to have been founded in the time of Alexander. It stands about 1200 feet above the level of the sea in a fertile champaign country, and is embosomed among gardens and trees. The atmosphere is serene, and so clear that the stars are very bright, and visible even to the verge of the horizon. In winter the snow lies there for three months. The city is eight miles in circumference. It is surrounded by a wall of earth twenty feet high, and pierced by twelve gate-ways. Massy edifices and lofty minarets every where meet the eye. There are more than three hundred colleges of students, all occupied with

theology and ignorant of every thing else. The population amounts to 150,000. Samarkand is is the Marakanda visited by Alexander. In later time it has been highly honoured by the sovereigns of Toorki blood. It was the capital of Taimur, whose remains were conveyed from Otrar to be interred there. They repose under a lofty dome, of which the sides are beautifully inlaid with agate. Baber describes the palaces raised there by Taimur and his grandson Ulugh Beg. It is now merely a provincial town with about ten thousand inhabitants. Gardens and fields occupy the site of ancient mosques and streets. Yet there are some buildings remaining to attest the former glory of Samarcand, and among them the famous observatory of Ulugh Beg. About thirty-six miles to the south-east is Kesh, the green city, Shehr Sebs, the birth-place of Timour, who built in it a number of magnificent structures. The vaulted Hall of Audience was said to exceed the Tak e Kesra below Bagdad, which is eighty-four feet wide and a hundred and four feet in height. There was also a superb mausoleum, with several domes, erected by him for the interment of the princes of his family, and around it his principal Ameers built their own sepulchres, and ordered

that in whatever country they might die, their bodies should be buried there, to testify in ages to come how much they loved their sovereign. The road from Samarkand to Cabul proceeds from Kesh to the pass of Derbend, or Kolugha, "the Iron Gate," through the Black Mountains into Hissar. That hilly region, which was named from the Hissar, the castle in which the king resided, was often traversed by Baber. The hill-folk were never entirely subdued by the Arabians. Further south, on the other side of the Amu, is Balkh, a country irrigated by streams descending from the Hindoo Coosh. The city of Balkh is believed to be the same with Bactra, the capital of Cyrus, and the birth-place of Zoroaster. It is revered by the Asiatics as the most ancient city in the world. The ruins are twenty miles in circumference. In the citadel there is a block of white marble, said to have been the throne of Cyrus. The present population of Balkh is not more than two thousand. To the east is Kundez lying among low hills in a very insalubrious climate. The sway of the Meer or Chief extends over Budukshan, which is celebrated for vales, and rivulets, and romantic glens, as well as fruit, and flowers, and nightingales. The natives are

Taujiks, very fond of society, and their language is Persian. There are mines of lapis lazuli near the head of the river Koktcha, and the rubies of Budukshan have long been well known in the East. There is scarcely a vestige left of the capital Fyzabad.

The dominions of Abusaid Mirza, grandsire of Baber, at the time of his death in 1468, extended from Azerbejan to the border of India, and from Mekran to the desert of Tartary. They were divided among his sons, and when Baber ascended the throne of Ferghana in 1494, his eldest paternal uncle, Ahmed Mirza, was Sultan of Samarcand and Bokhara; another was sovereign of Hissar, Termez, Kundez, Ba[redacted] shan, and Khutlan; a third was King of Cal[redacted] and Ghaznee; while Sultan Hussain Mir[redacted] Khakan e Mansor, descended from an elder s[redacted] of Timour, swayed the sceptre of Khorasan, a[redacted] was the most potent and illustrious monarch [redacted] them all. To the west of Ferghana the Mog[redacted] Sultan, Mahmud Khan, maternal uncle of Babe[redacted] held his court at Tashkend, "Stone Town," and was lord of Shahrokia as far as Mogulistan, where another division of the Mogul race owned the sway of Sultan Ahmed Khan, the younger brother of Mahmud. Three sisters of the Khans

were married respectively to the three kings of Samarcand, Hissar, and Ferghana.

Sheibani Khan, a very conspicuous personage in the following narrative was still in the desert on the north-west. Batu, the grandson of Zinghis, on his return from Europe in the thirteenth century, assigned to his brother Sheibani a large body of Moguls and Toorks dwelling between the Ural chain and the sea of Aral. One of his descendants, Uzbek Khan, was so beloved by the nation, that they assumed his name. The realm of the second Sheibani did not extend beyond what Baber calls Turkistan, a country on the north-west of Tashkend. His subjects were a mixed race of Moguls and Turks, the latter by far the more numerous.

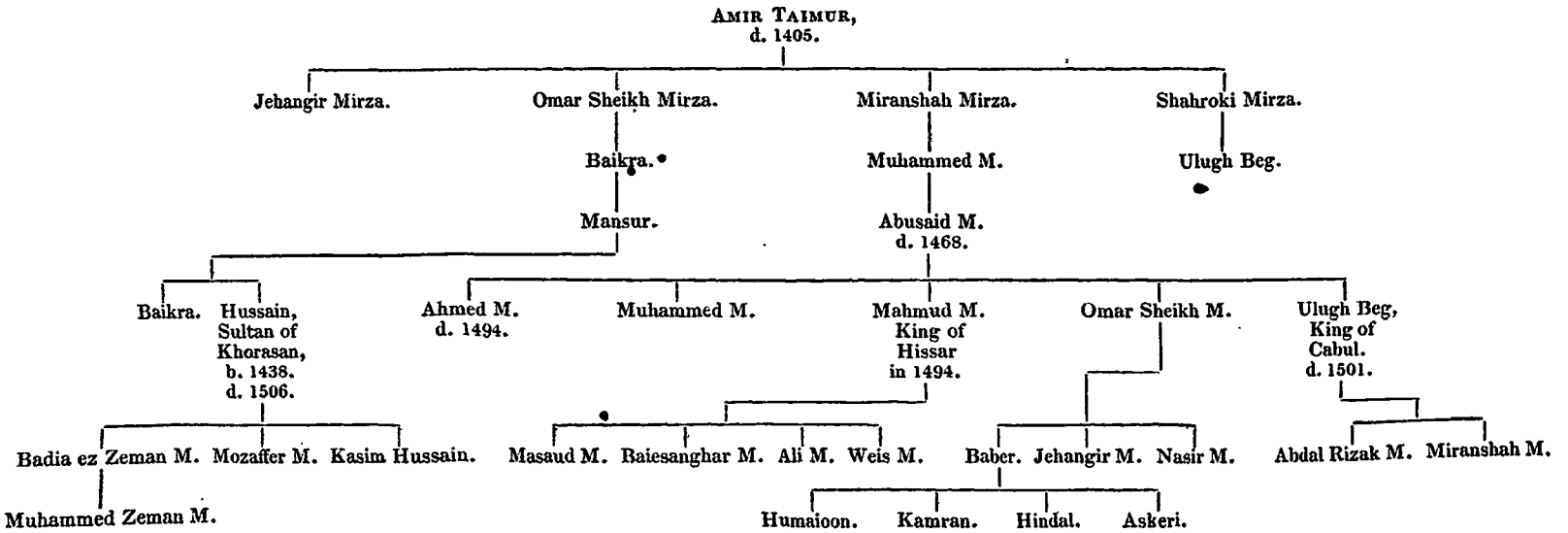
Such was the division of the surrounding kingdoms when Zehireddin Mohammed Baber, "the Defender of the Faith, the greatly praised Tiger," became sovereign of Andejan or Ferghana, now Khokan. He was born in February 1483, the same year with Luther. At the age of five he was sent to Samarkand, where he was betrothed to his cousin, Aisha Begum, whom he afterward married. The year of his accession was that in which Charles the Eighth invaded Italy.

His genealogy on the mother's side runs thus:—

CHENGHIS KHAN.
CHAGATAI KHAN.
MUTUKHAN.
ISAN BUGHA.
BURAK KHAN.
DAWA KHAN.
AISH BUGHA KHAN.
TUGHLUK TAIMUR KHAN.
KHAZER KHWAJEH KHAN.
MUHAMMED KHAN.
SHIR ALI OGHLAN.
WAIS KHAN.
YUNIS KHAN.
KUTLUK NIGAR KHANUM, Mother of Baber.

It is well, however, to give the house of Taimur more at large.

THE HOUSE OF TAIMUR.



THE

MEMOIR OF BABER,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF IN THE LAST YEARS OF HIS LIFE.

In the month of Ramzan (June 1494), in the year 899, and in the twelfth year of my age, I became King of Ferghana. This country is in the fifth climate (*i. e.* fifth from the equator), on the extreme boundary of the habitable world. On the east is Kashgar: on the west, Samarkand: on the north there were formerly the cities of Almalig (a grove of apple-trees), Almatu, and Otrar, but they have been laid desolate by the Uzbeks. The river Sirr or Seihoon (Jaxartes) arises through Ferghana from the eastern mountains, which extend from north to south under the name of Belut Tagh to Badakshan. They are so lofty and steep that only two passes are known to the caravans which travel into China,

one along the course of the river Seihun, the other near the spring-head of the Amu in Mount Pushtikhur, where the water issues from under ice forty spears in thickness, at an elevation of 15,600 feet above the sea.

The chief district of Ferghana is Andejan on the south bank of the Seihun. It yields abundance of grain and fruit. The melons are too plentiful to be sold. Birds and beasts of chace are very common, and the pheasants are especially fine. The inhabitants are all Toorks, and remarkable for beauty. But the atmosphere is baleful, and in the autumn agues are prevalent. The town of Andejan is the metropolis of Ferghana.

Another district is Ush, more to the east. The air is salubrious, and there are gardens by the river side filled with tulips, roses, and violets. Near the mosque, which is outside the town of Ush, there is a meadow of clover so pleasant that travellers love to take rest there, and it is a common sport of the townsmen to carry all who fall asleep there across the three streams. The excellencies of Ush are celebrated even in sacred traditions. Westward is Marghinan. It is noted for pomegranates, apricots, and white deer. All the inhabitants are Sarts. They are notorious all through Maweralnahar for blustering and love of boxing. (The old Persi

natives of the country are called Sarts or Tajiks in this memoir: "The Taujiks are mingled with the Uzbeks and Afghans, and are found even in Chinese Toorkistan, and everywhere the name of Taujik and Parseewan are used indifferently. The fixed population of Persia bears the name of Taujik, in contradistinction to the roving tribes and Tartars. The Taujiks are independent in Kurratageen and Budukshan. The name means Arab in all the Pehlevee writings, and in many Persian dictionaries it is interpreted, an Arabian born out of Arabia."—*Elphinstone.* According to Sir J. Malcolm, Taujik in Persia means a person in a civil occupation, and this class is not confined to cities, but is employed by the military tribes to cultivate their la[illegible] and tend their flocks. The number of t[illegible]e who are thus occupied decreases in propor-[illegible]as the increasing vigour of the government [illegible]ves them from dependence on their rude [illegible]sters.)

The district of Asfera is at the foot of the [illegible]thern mountains, nine farsangs (thirty-six [illegible]les) to the south-west of Marghinan. There [illegible] in it many streams and beautiful gardens, in [illegible]ich the almond is the most common tree. In [illegible]rising ground, on the south-east, is found the [illegible]one mirror, about twenty feet in length. The [illegible]ople are all Sarts.

The district of Khojend lies to the west of Andejan. The city, which is very ancient, is at the bend of the river. There is abundance of white deer, mountain goats, and hares in this region. But the climate is bad, and inflammation of the eyes is so prevalent that even the sparrows are said to have inflammation of the eyes. From the district of Kandbadam ("town of almonds"), which belongs to Khojend, the almonds are exported to Hindustan and Hormuz. It is divided from Khojend by a desart, named Ha-dervish. Certain dervishes having encountered the wind in this desart were separated and perished in it, calling out to each other, "Ha Dervish! Ha Dervish!" and from this it received the name.

On the right bank of the Seihun is the district of Akshi. The town, which is thirty-six miles from Andejan, was the capital of [illegible] Sheikh. The castle stands on a high precipice with deep ravines around it, and the river flows beneath. It is the strongest fortress in Ferghana. The melons of Akshi are incomparable. The stag, the fowl of the desart, and the hare, are very fat, and are found in great numbers.

There is a standing dispute between the natives of Akshi and those of Kasan, regarding the comparative beauty and climate of the two districts. The gardens of Kasan being all she[illegible]

tered along the side of the river, it is called the mantle of five lambskins.

All around Ferghana there are in the mountains excellent summer-stations (yai-laks). (The wandering tribes of Persia and Turkistan are accustomed to shift their ground with the season. The Persian court also is often removed into the highland to escape the summer heat.) In the hills there are mines of turquoise and iron. (Abulfeda asserts, that in Ferghana there are black stones which burn like charcoal, and yield intense heat. The existence of coal in the chequered mountains, Ala Tagh, the same with Ming Bulak, has been confirmed by recent travellers.)

The revenues of Ferghana suffice to maintain thr[illegible]or four thousand troops.

[illegible]y father was born at Samarkand in 1456, [illegible]ourth son of Abusaid Mirza. He was at [illegible]designed for the throne of Cabul, and was [illegible] thither with Babi Cabuli for his Regent [illegible]tector. But he was recalled to the festival [illegible]en at Merv by the Sultan to solemnise the [illegible]cumcision of his sons in 1465.* The festival [illegible]ted five months, and was famed for excessive [illegible]ndour. Taimur Beg having given Ferghana

* The Arabians have always circumcised children in [illegible]eir thirteenth year, because Ishmael was thirteen at the [illegible]eue of his circumcision.

to an Omar Sheikh* Mirza, my father, because he bore the same name, received the government of that province, and went there with Khodaberdi Taimurtash for his Prime Minister and Guardian. Omar Sheikh was always bent on some scheme of conquest. Several times he led an army against his brother at Samarkand, but without success. In the year 1494, Ahmed Mirza formed a league with Mahmud Khan, and they marched on each side of the Sihoon against him. At this juncture, being in the fort of Akshi, he was precipitated from the edge of the steep rock with his pigeons and pigeon-house, and departed to the other world. (The Mahometan Princes in the east have often been fond of pigeons. Those of the Emperor Akbar were trained to perform many fantastic [illegible]vements. Each of them, before receiving [illegible] the daily allowance of food, made fifteen cir[illegible] flights and seventy tumbles.—*W. E.* A[illegible] the Ottoman Sultan's household there [illegible] formerly the Bulbulji Bashi, first-nightin[illegible] keeper, and Tutuji Bashi, first parrot-keepe[illegible] Omar Sheikh Mirza was of low stature. He [illegible] very corpulent, and wore his tunic extremely tight. He was not fanciful either in his food dress. His turban was without folds, and

* Sheikh, an Arabic word, meaning old man and prince.

allowed the end to hang down. During the heats, when out of the diwan, he usually had a Mogul cap. He was of the Hanifah sect, and strict in his belief. He never omitted the five daily prayers, and during his whole life he rigidly performed the Kaza, or retributory prayers and fasts. (The Mahometans, when sick, or on a journey, or in war, are not bound to observe the stated prayers and fasts, but are enjoined to make up for the omission afterwards.—*W. E.*) Much of his time was spent in reading the Koran. He was an affectionate disciple of the venerable Khwajeh Obeidullah of Samarcand. He read the mystical poems, especially the Shah Nameh (the Book of Kings, a poetical history of ancient Persia, in 120,000 verses, composed in the eleventh century by Ferdausi). He was [illegible]ist, that when a caravan from China (Khita) [illegible] buried in snow among the eastern hills, [illegible]ough he was then in straitened circum-[illegible]nces, yet he caused all the effects to be pre-[illegible]rved until the heirs came from the western [illegible]ties in the following year to claim them. He [illegible]as of an excellent temper, affable, eloquent, [illegible]nd sweet in his conversation, yet brave withal [illegible]nd manly. Twice he advanced in front of his [illegible]rmy and displayed his prowess in combat. He was a middling shot with the bow. He had uncommon strength in his fists, and never hit a

man without knocking him down. In his youth he was very fond of talar and buzeh, an intoxicating liquor made of millet. Latterly, he indulged himself with a drinking party once or twice a-week, and he was much addicted to the use of maajun, inebriating comfits prepared with bang, which brought on a feverish irritability. He often played at backgammon, and sometimes at games of chance with the dice. (According to the commentaries on the Koran, all games of chance are forbidden.) He fought three great battles, one with his father-in-law, Yunis Khan, on the Sirr, at a place called the Goat's Leap, where he was defeated. Another with the Uzbeks, near the river Aras. They were returning with plunder from the territory of Samarcand when he crossed the Aras, then fro over, and routed them. In his third battle which he was opposed to Sultan Ahmed, eldest brother, he was overthrown. His princi wife was Kutluk Nigar Khanum, sister of Sult Mahmud Khan. Their father, Yunis Khan, w placed on the white felt, and proclaimed Kh of Mogulistan by the influence of Abusaid Mir (Chenghis Khan sat on a black-felt carpet whe he was proclaimed Grand Khan, and this emble of poverty was held in veneration by the Moguls while their empire lasted. Perhaps one tribe used black and another white felt, as there were

Turcomans of the black sheep and Turcomans of the white sheep.—*W. E.*) He had three sons and five daughters. I was the eldest son, being two years senior to Jehangir. The third was Nasir Mirza. The eldest of the princesses was Khanzadeh Begum. He was tenderly attached to Karaguz Begum, the black-eyed princess, whom he married late in life.

The most eminent of his Ameers was Khodaberdi Taimurtash (Khodaberdi, given of God—Taimurtash, iron stone), who became Prime Minister of Ferghana at the age of twenty-five. His administration was very efficient. A few years after he was slain in battle.

Another was Sheikh Mazid Beg, who was first appointed to be my governor. His arrangement and discipline were excellent. No man stood higher in the esteem of Omar Sheikh Mirza. Nevertheless he was a man of gross habits, and given to unnatural practices. After his death the Ameer Baba Kuli was my governor. He kept his troops in good order. But he neither prayed nor fasted, and was like an infidel in his whole deportment.

The Ameer Hassan Yakub, "the handsome Jacob," was a frank, clever, and good-tempered man, an excellent archer, and distinguished for his skill at leap-frog. On the death of Omar

Sheikh, he became Master of my household, *i. e.* Prime Minister. He was, however, a narrow-minded man, and a promoter of dissension.

Another was Kasim Beg, a man of ancient rank. He was successor to Hassan Yakub in the office of Prime Minister. To the end of his life his power and favour with me were on the increase. He was a bold man at a foray, and made a gallant use of his scymitar in the service of Omar Sheikh, and even in his old age with me. He was a faithful and pious Moslem, who carefully abstained from all dubious meats. In a period of great difficulty he forsook me, and joined Khosrou Shah. In the year 1504 he returned to my service, when that chief was reduced to destitution. He became governor of Humaioon during my residence at Cabul [illegible] his judgment and talents were of a superior [illegible] and though he could neither read nor write, had an elegant vein of wit.

Another of the Ameers was Ali Dost Tagh[illegible] a Mogul, the Grand Huntsman. He receiv[illegible] great favour at my hands, and I was told th[illegible] he would be very useful to me; but I cann[illegible] tell what service he ever did in all the years [illegible] was with me. He was covetous, self-conceite[illegible] mean, seditious, insincere, and of a sour visage.

Another was Mir Ghias Taghai. He wa[illegible]

much in the confidence of Sultan Abusaid Mirza, who gave him the custody of the Square Seal. He was no less a favourite with Omar Sheikh. He was a very facetious man, but fearless in debauchery.

Another was Kamber Ali, a Mogul, the son of a skinner. He was ewer-bearer to Yunis Khan, but finally attained the rank of Beg. From me he received distinguished favours, and behaved very well till he reached a certain elevation, when he became negligent, and his talk was very silly. There can be no doubt that a great talker must often talk foolishly.

When the fatal accident befel Omar Sheikh, I was at the Charbagh Palace in Andejan, and immediately took measures to secure the castle there. Khwajeh Kazi and the Begs sent a trusty person to assure me of their loyalty, and conduct me to them in the citadel. Khwajeh Moulana Kazi, the son of Sultan * Ahmed Kazi, was born of a religious family, that gradually came to be regarded the protectors of Andejan. They held by inheritance the office of Sheikh-ul-Islam, *i. e.* Chief Judge in all civil and religious causes, which are determined by divine law. The Khwajeh, and Hassan Yakub, and Kasim Beg,

* The name of Sultan is assumed by persons of low condition in the East.

united in a resolution to defend the fortress against Ahmed Mirza, who was then encamped within sixteen miles. One Dervish Gaw, a man of note in Andejan, was put to death for seditious expressions, and this brought the rest of the inhabitants to their duty. I sent the Khwajeh, with two other ambassadors, to the Sultan, bearing this message: "It is plain that you must place one of your servants in the command of this country: I am at once your son * and your servant: if you appoint me, your purpose will be answered in the most satisfactory manner." My uncle, a mild weak man, was persuaded by his Begs to return a hostile answer, and marched onward. But his design was frustrated by Tengri (the Almighty), who sent a disease among the cavalry: the soldiers were disheartened: many camels and horses fell into the river Kara, in passing a bridge: therefore after he had come within a farsang of Andejan, he concluded a truce with me and retreated. In the meantime my uncle Mahmud Khan had laid siege to Akshi, but, falling sick, he was fain to retrace his way to

* John de Lact remarks of the Brazilians, that they call their uncles and aunts fathers and mothers, and there is the same custom among the Red Lion of North America. "Sed rerum filius idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor."—Tacitus, de Mor. Germ.; vid. Montesquieu, L'Esprit des Loix, l. xviii. c. 22.—GILBERT STUART.

Tashkend. Abubeker Doghlet Kashgari, the independent Hakim of Kashgar, advanced with the same desire of conquest into the eastern provinces, and committed devastation. The Sheikh ul Islam and a number of Begs were sent against him with an army too numerous for him to resist, upon which applying himself to the Khwajeh to act as mediator, he extricated himself from the danger with remarkable address.

After these events the Begs had leisure to conduct the mother of Omar Sheikh, Jehangir, and the family in the haram, from Akshi to Andejan, where the ceremony of mourning was performed, and victuals were distributed to the poor and to religious mendicants.

Being now in the enjoyment of tranquillity I addressed myself to the improvement and administration of the kingdom. The supreme authority at court was conferred upon Hassan Yakub, Akshi was consigned to Uzun Hassan, and Marghinan to Ali Dost Taghai. Every [illegible] Ameers and younger nobles received a district, or estate, or some mark of distinction.

Meanwhile Ahmed Mirza, on his return through Uratippe in the month of July, was seized with a burning fever, and departed from this transitory world, by the side of the White River, in the forty-fourth year of his age. He was tall, ruddy, and corpulent. He wore his

turban in the four-plaited manner, according to the fashion of the time. He was a man of very pleasant manners. He was attached to the Hanifah* sect, and was a true orthodox believer. He omitted none of the five daily prayers, even when engaged in a drinking party. His religious instructor was Khwajeh Abeidulla. He was polite and ceremonious at all times, especially in his intercourse with the Khwajeh. It is said that, however long they might sit together, he never changed the position of his knees, except in one instance, when he rested one knee on the other. After he rose, the Khwajeh examined the spot, and found a bone lying there (the bone of a dead animal defiles a Mahometan, and he is bound to purify himself after touching it.—*W. E.*) He was so observant of decorum that he would never uncover his feet, even before his own relations (the Asiatics wear long robes,

* According to Sale, there are four sects of orthodox Mahometans: Hanafees, Shafees, Malekees, and Hanbalees, named after their founders. The Hanafees decide questions by reason; the three others by tradition. The heretical sects dispute about free will and predestination, whether God has a corporeal nature, &c. They generally charge each other with infidelity. The Shiites, who assert that Ali was the first lawful Caliph, are divided into a countless number of sects.

† Mr. Forster says, that the division of the Moslems into so many sects was owing mainly to the study of Aristotle.

which conceal the feet as they sit cross-legged). He was a plain honest Turk, of moderate abilities. He was scarcely able to read, but he was a just man, and always consulted the Khwajeh in affairs of importance. He was true to his promise, and faithfully performed all his engagements and treaties. He was brave in battle, and a dexterous archer: in riding across the place of exercise, he used to hit the brazen basin several times. When he became very lusty he had recourse to falconry, and seldom failed to bring down a quail or a pheasant with his goshawk. With the exception of Ulugh Beg, there was no king equal to him in field sports.

He would drink wine for twenty or thirty days at a stretch, and then abstain for an equal period, during which he took pungent substances. He was naturally penurious, a simple man of few words, and entirely guided by his Ameers. He fought four great battles, one in Uratippa, in which he was victorious: another at Khawas, in which he overthrew Omar Sheikh Mirza: a third near Tashkend, which was, in truth, no battle, for a few plundering Moguls, coming in his rear to seize the baggage, the whole of that mighty host was panic-struck, without having seen the army of Mahmud, and numbers were drowned in their flight across the river Chirr.

In his fourth battle, he defeated Haider Gokaltash.

He had two sons, who died young, and five daughters, of whom two, in course of time, became my wives.* His principal wife was the eldest sister of Mahmud. Another was Katak Begum. Sultan Ahmed Mirza married her for love. She drank wine. He was so desperately fond of her, that during her lifetime, he dared not speak to any of his other wives. At last, however, he put her to death, and delivered himself from the reproach. Another was Khanzadeh, whom he had newly married, when I was sent, at the age of five, to Samarcand; and, according to the custom of the Toorks, she still wore a veil. By his direction I took the veil away. (It is believed, that a child who runs away with the veil, will have success in marriage.—*W. E.*)

Among his Ameers,† there was Jani Beg Duladai, brother of Sultan Malek of Cashgar: Sultan Abusaid made him Hakim of Samarcand, and he had the chief authority in the court of Ahmed Mirza. He was a man of singular manners, and many tales are related of him, among others that, when an Uzbek ambassador famous

* The Koran forbids a man to marry two sisters.

† Amr signifies command.

for his strength, came to Samarkand, the Hakim compelled the Uzbek to a wrestling match, and threw him.

Another was Dervish Muhammed Terkhan, the maternal uncle of Ahmed. He was very fond of chess and falconry. (The Terkhan was originally a rank, but in the time of Babur it had become the name of a family. The ancient Terkhan was exempt from taxes; he was not required to divide his booty with the royal collectors; he was to be pardoned nine times, whatever the faults might be; he was at liberty to enter the presence at all times, and to speak there without any restraint.—*W. E.*)

Another was Abdal Ali Terkhan. While he held the government of Bokhara, Sheibani Khan lived with him for some time. The downfal of the ancient Khans, and the ascendancy of Sheibani, were mainly owing to him. He was princely in his levees and entertainments. He was tyrannical, lascivious, and haughty. His retainers amounted to three thousand.

His son, Baki Terkhan, when he was Hakim of Bokhara, had more than five thousand servants. He was very fond of hawking, and is said to have had seven hundred falcons at one time. He was far from being duly submissive to his sovereign, Ali Mirza. His manners and habits were such as cannot be well described

In spite of the benefits Sheibani received from his father, he shewed no kindness to Baki Terkhan.

Upon the death of Ahmed, the Begs despatched a messenger to his brother Mahmud, the king of Hissar, who came forthwith to Samarcand, and ascended the throne without opposition. But in a short time both high and low began to hate him for his ill qualities. His first act was to send four Mirzas to the Green Mansion, (a palace built, or rebuilt, by Tamerlane, in which aspirants to the throne were put to death, or the fire-pencil was applied to their eyes). What made him still more odious was, that he altered the whole system of taxes and expenditure. The dependants of Khwajeh Abeidulla, who before had influence to protect many persons from oppression, were now subject to rigorous treatment themselves, and this severity reached even the family of the venerable Khwajeh. Besides these evils, the Prince and his Ameers were overbearing, and fond of debauchery. The troops that came from Hissar, especially those of Khosrou Shah, were constantly indulging in vicious excesses, and their outrages were countenanced by Khosrou. When the husband of a woman, who was carried away by one of them, complained to Khosrou, he received this answer: "You have had her for a great many years:

it is fair that he should have her for a few days."

The citizens and Toorki soldiers were afraid to leave their homes, lest their children should be taken away for iniquitous purposes. The people of Samarcand had lived happily for twenty-five years under the gentle sway of Ahmed Mirza during all that period the laws had been rightfully administered, owing to the respect which the Sultan paid to the opinion of Abidulla; but now the city was a scene of unbridled license, oppression, and wickedness. They were stung to the soul, both rich and poor, and lifting up their hands to heaven for redress poured forth their imprecations of divine vengeance on the head of Mahmud. He did not reign many months in Samarcand.

In the 900th year of the Hejira he sent an envoy to me, with presents of almonds and pistachios of gold and silver, on account of the wedding of his eldest son, Masaud Mirza. It was soon discovered that the envoy had gained over Hassan and other Begs to the interest of Mahmud. By the advice of my grandmother, Isan Doulet Begum, a woman of great sagacity, the Begs were taken into custody one day when Hassan Yakub was gone out to hunt. But I permitted the chief part of them to follow him on his way to Samarcand. He did not quit the

kingdom without making an attempt upon Akshi, from Kandbadam, the city of almonds. I sent some Begs against him, and in a skirmish he was pierced by an arrow from one of his own men, and thus fell a sacrifice to his own misdeeds. Kasim Beg succeeded to his office and government. In this year, I began to abstain from unlawful and dubious meats, and seldom omitted the midnight prayers.

In January, 1495, Sultan Mahmud Mirza was seized with a violent illness, and departed this life in the forty-third year of his age. He was below the middle height, very rough in his appearance, and corpulent. He never neglected his prayers. All the arrangements of his court and government were excellent. He was a good accountant: not a dinar of revenue was spent without his knowledge. Early in life he kept a number of hawks, and in his latter years he was fond of hunting the nilhaun. His racketing and drunkenness were carried to a frantic excess. No prince of all our family was so impure.* He kept a number of buffoons and scoundrels to act vile and shameful tricks before the court, even on the days of public audience. He behaved very ill to the Khwajeh Abidulla. He fought two battles, and was defeated in both.

* Timour in his day said "the good men of Mawer-al-nahar are very good, and the bad are very bad."

He went twice on a religious war against Kaferistan, on which account he assumed the title of Ghazi. He spoke ill, and his expressions were scarcely intelligible. His poetry was flat and insipid, and it is surely better not to write at all than to write in that style.

After the death of Abusaid in "the disaster of Irak," Mahmud fled with Khosrou Shah and other officers to Hissar, and he became sovereign of all the region extending to the Hindoo Coosh. He had five sons and eleven daughters. His eldest son, Masaud, did not succeed to the throne. He had received the government of Hissar from his father, and his brother Baiesanghar being appointed to that of Bokhara, was nearer to Samarcand at the time of Mahmud's death.

In May (1495), Ibrahim Saru, who was bred in the service of my mother, entered the fort of Asferah, read the Khutbeh (the public prayer for the sovereign), in the name of Baiesanghar, and commenced hostilities against me. I marched to quell the revolt, and on the day of my arrival before the fort, our young cavaliers, in their eagerness, captured an outwork. In this first action, Khodaberdi, my governor, was killed by an arrow from a crossbow. Of my other Ameers, Syed Kasim the Chamberlain, Sultan Ahmed Tambol, and Ali Dost Taghai, wielded their scymitars valiantly. The prize of valour was

awarded to Syed Kasim. (Among the Moguls, he who has been the bravest in battle receives the ulush in every entertainment, as Ajax in the Iliad). Syed claimed and received the ulush when I went to Shahrokia.

After the siege had lasted forty days, Ibrahim Saru made an offer of submission, through the medium of Khwajeh Moulana, and came out with a sword hanging from his neck, to signify that he was ready for execution. In 1496 I made him governor of another fortress.

Soon after this expedition I recovered possession of Khojend, and Mahmud Khan being in Shahrokia,* it occurred to me that as he stood in the relation of father and elder brother to me, I ought to pay my respects to him, and dispel any misunderstanding that might be in his mind. I also expected to learn the state of affairs at his court.† Accordingly I waited upon him near Shahrokia. He was seated in a pavilion erected in the middle of his garden. On my entrance I made three low bows: the Khan rose and embraced me: then I went back and bowed again: after this the Khan placed me by his side, and

* Shahrokia was built by Timour on the birth of his fourth son, whom he called Shahrokh, "Check with the rook," because when the tidings of the birth came, he had just beaten a man at chess by that move.

† Ερως σοφιας θυητη κεκραμενη.

shewed me every mark of affection. A few days after this I visited the tomb of my father at Akshi. Among the wilds of Andejan there is a tribe of five or six thousand families possessing a great number of horses and sheep: and, because the mountains are very difficult of access, they refuse to pay tribute. I sent Kasim Beg with a strong force to pillage them, in order that there might be something to give my troops. He took 20,000 sheep and 1500 horses, which were divided among the soldiers.

After the death of Mahmud Mirza, Khosrou Shah attempted to seize the royal treasure; but he was quickly driven out of the capital, and the Begs placed Baiesanghar upon the throne. His partiality for the men of Hissar led to a rebellion of the Terkhans and other nobles, who secured his person, and proclaimed his younger brother Ali king in his stead. But he escaped from their custody to the house of Khwajehka Khwajeh, who refused to deliver him up to them; and they dared not take him by force, the Khwajeh had so much influence in the city. This was proved in a few days, for the people rose tumultuously, brought away Baiesanghar from his house, and captured Ali with Terkhan in the citadel. Dervish Terkhan was executed, and Ali Mirza was conveyed to the Green Palace,

that the fire-pencil might be applied to his eyes, but he escaped to Bokhara, and very soon defeated Baiesanghar in battle. Being apprised of this, I set out from Andejan in June to effect the conquest of Samarcand, while Sultan Masaud advanced from Hissar with a like intent. For three or four months the city was beleaguered by the three armies, but at the approach of winter they all returned home. In May 1497, agreeably to my appointment with Ali Mirza, I issued from Andejan to resume the siege of Samarcand, and passing through Yar Ailak encamped at Yam, where, in a skirmish on the pleasure-ground, Khwajehka Mullai, the Lord Chief Justice of Andejan, the elder brother of Khwajeh Kilan, received an arrow in the neck and departed to the mercy of God. He was a learned man, and was nominated by my father to be Keeper of the Seal. He was skilled in falconry, and knew the art of bringing down rain and snow by enchantment. While we were near Yam, a number of traders and other men came to the camp bazaar. One day there was a sudden uproar, and all these Mussulmen were plundered. But I commanded that every thing should be restored to them without reserve, and before the first watch of the morrow there was not a bit of thread nor a broken needle that was not reco-

vered by the owner. I halted at Yuret Khan, about five miles east of the city. Several encounters took place on the pleasure-ground. All the country and fortresses were given up to me by the inhabitants. So many tradesmen of Samarcand came to me at this station that the camp was like a town, and was supplied with every kind of commodity. While we remained there we were beguiled by some of the citizens to send a party of horse and foot by night to the wall near the Lover's Cave, under a promise that the citadel should be betrayed into our hands. Several of the party were taken and put to death. The sun had now entered the sign of the Balance, and the weather began to be severe. Therefore we constructed huts in the fort of Khwajeh Didar, and took up our quarters there for the winter. Sheibani Khan made a vain endeavour to relieve Baiesanghar, whose heart then failed him, and he fled to Khosrou Shah at Kundez.

Having received notice of the event, I set forth toward the city. The Begs and chief citizens came out to welcome my arrival; and thus at the end of November, by the favour of God, I won Samarkand. This city is in the fifth climate, 29° 37′ north latitude, according to the calculation of Ulugh Beg. Since no enemy has ever stormed it, it is called "the Protected City." The inhabitants embraced Islam in the reign of

Osman,* Commander of the Faithful. They are all orthodox Sunnees, observant of the law, and religious. From the time of the Holy Prophet, no other country has produced so many Imams and eminent divines as Maweralnahar. Among the stately buildings that adorn the city, there is the Great Mosque erected by Timour, near the Iron Gate, after the conquest of Delhi. Many stonecutters came to work upon it from Hindostan. The pillars of it are 480 in number. On the frontispiece over the portico are inscribed these words of the Koran in characters so large that they may be read at a very great distance: "And Abraham and Ismael raised the foundations of the house, saying, Lord, accept it from us, for Thou art He who heareth and knoweth." On the south of the city is the Garden of Paradise, and the Plane-tree Garden, Bagh e Chenar. On the east, is the Heart-delighting Garden, from which there is a public avenue planted with pine trees all the way to the Turquoise Gate. Samarcand produces fine apples, and a kind of grape called Sahibi. (There is an excellent grape at Aurungabad in the Dekkan called Sahib.) In the garden of Dervish Khan there are elms, white poplars, and cypresses. Another garden is named the Miniature of the World. (The

* Othman in Arabic is "the royal vulture."

term Bagh, Garden, implies a Palace.) The Observatory of Ulugh Beg is at the foot of the hill Kohik. By means of this he composed the astronomical tables which are still in use, and he made a catalogue of the fixed stars from his own observations. Not more than seven or eight observatories have ever been erected. The astronomical tables in general use before the time of Ulugh Beg were constructed by Khwajeh Nasir, in the time of Holaku * Khan, at Maragha. Another observatory was erected by the Caliph Mamun. Another was built by Btalmius (Ptolemy the Geographer). Another was raised in Hindostan in the time of Bikermajeet (Vicramaditya), at Oujein in the kingdom of Mandoo, 1584 years before this time (1527), and the Hindoos still use the tables then made. Another ancient edifice at Samarcand is the Echoing Mosque. In the Bagh e Meidan, the Garden of the Meadow, there is a splendid structure with four minarets. In another garden near the hill is a state pavilion overlaid with porcelain from China.

One of the peculiarities of Samarcand is, that each trade has its own bazaar. Very excellent paper is manufactured here; and another pro-

* King of Persia, and grandson of Zenghis.

duction of art is the kermezi, crimson velvet (the cramoisy of old English ballads).

Samarcand has many provinces and tumans. Bokhara, which is celebrated for melons, is divided into seven tumans. The wine of Bokhara is of superior strength and spirit. Another province is Kesh. In spring the terraces and gardens of Kesh are extremely verdant, whence it is named Shehr Sebs, the Green City. There is a college and mausoleum in it. Another province is Karshi, which in the Mogul language means a cemetery.* The name is probably coeval with the invasion of Chengis. The apricots and melons there are excellent. Some of the richest tumans are those of Sogd, and there is a very fine one near the city of Samarcand, on the side of a hill toward Kesh. In that tuman provisions are cheap. The temperature of the atmosphere is charming, the aspect of the country is beautiful, and water is abundant. Those who have travelled in Misr and Sham (Egypt and Syria) acknowledge that it is incomparable.

When I mounted the throne of Samarcand, I treated the grandees with the same favour they had been wont to receive; and I bestowed suitable rewards on the Begs who had accompanied me from Andejan, especially on Sultan Ahmed

* Petris de la Croix says it means a palace.

Tambol. The city was exhausted by the blockade of seven months, and so completely pillaged by my troops that it was impossible to levy any taxes; and we furnished the citizens with seed-corn for their next crop. Under the pressure of distress the soldiers began to desert: all the Moguls left me, and finally Sultan Tambol himself. The prime mover of this defection was Uzun Hassan.* After the departure of Tambol all the fugitives openly declared their hostility. Uzun and Tambol proposed that I should resign Ferghana to my brother Jehangir. It would have been a mean thing to comply with their desire at such a moment; and besides this, Sultan Mahmud Khan had demanded that kingdom of me. There were only a thousand men remaining with me at Samarcand, when Hassan and Tambol raised the standard of rebellion in favour of Jehangir, and laid siege to Andejan. Khwajeh Kazi, to preserve the town, divided eighteen thousand of his sheep among the garrison, and among the wives and children of the soldiers who were at Samarcand. My mothers and the Khwajeh wrote to me that the town was likely to be captured, unless I would hasten to their relief. At that time I was recovering from a severe illness: my anxiety and exertions brought on a relapse: during four days

* Hassan the Tall.

I was speechless: the Begs and soldiers, despairing of my life, began each to shift for himself. At that crisis a messenger from Hassan was brought indiscreetly into my presence. On his return to Andejan he declared upon oath to Ali Dost Taghai that he had seen me at the point of death; whereupon Ali surrendered the fortress on the very day that I set off to relieve it. The rebels seized Khwajeh Moulana Kazi, and hung him in a shameful manner over the gates of the citadel. His family had for a long time held the office of Muktida and Sheikh ul Islam. He was educated by Khwajeh Abidulla. I have no doubt that he was a saint (wali). What stronger evidence of this could there be than the fact that in a short time not a vestige or memorial remained of any one concerned in his murder? He was a man of wonderful courage, which is no mean proof of sanctity. All mankind, however brave they be, have some little degree of anxiety and trepidation about them. The Khwajeh had not a particle of either. After his death all his tribe and followers were plundered. The rebels sent to me at Khojend my grandmother, and mother, and the families of several persons in my company. I now became a prey to vexation and melancholy: for the sake of Andejan I had left Samarcand, and found that by losing one I had not gained the other. Since the day that I had

known myself I had never felt such anguish; for I had never before been separated from my home and friends. While I was at Khojend some of the Begs who envied Khalifeh for his influence at court, exerted themselves against him with so much effect, that I was obliged to let him retire to Tashkend. I had sent Kasim Beg to request the aid of my uncle Mahmud. He advanced along the Blacksmith's Dale (Julgeh e Ahengeran), and effected a junction with me at Amani. He had no capacity for the conduct of a campaign. At a moment when one march would have decided the contest, he listened to artful proposals of the cabal, who bribed his envoys, and he was persuaded to retreat. Upon which my Begs, captains, and soldiers, seeing no prospect of recovering their wives and families in Andejan, separated from me entirely. Those who remained to endure a life of distress and exile for my sake were less than three hundred in number. Among them were Kasim Beg, Ibrahim Saru, Syed Kasim the Chamberlain, Ali Dost Taghai the Grand Huntsman, and Hyder Rikabdar the Equerry.

Being in this sad plight, forlorn and destitute, I wept very much. I returned to Khojend, and spent that Ramzan there with my mother. Mahmud Khan again assisted me by sending four or five thousand men to join in an enterprise against

Samarcand; but their commanders were intimidated by the approach of Sheibani Khan, and I was under the necessity of returning to Khojend (1498). Inspired as I was with the desire of conquest and the love of dominion, I was unwilling on account of a few defeats to sit still and look idly around me. Khojend is so small a town that it is difficult to support two hundred retainers there. How then could a man ambitious of empire set himself down contentedly in so insignificant a place?

In order to promote my design upon Samarçand, I asked the Chieftain of Uratippa to lend me for one winter a village in Yar Ailak. On my way thither I was taken ill with a fever, nevertheless I hurried onward in the hope of taking a fortress by surprise. The attempt failed, and I suffered much by riding fifty-six miles without a halt in that state of disease. In the course of the winter I won all the strongholds of Yar Ailak by treaty, storm, or stratagem; but in the spring (1499), I was obliged to measure my way home to Khojend. In this miserable place my family had subsisted for almost two years. With what face, then, could I again have recourse to the bounty of my friends? Therefore I went away to the Ailaks on the south of Uratippa, and spent some time in hopeless perplexity. One day, Khwajeh Abul Makaram, who was a wanderer

like myself, came to visit me, and I took the opportunity of consulting him about my affairs. He was so deeply affected with the state in which he found me that he shed tears, and after praying over me took his departure.

On that very day, about the time of afternoon prayers, a horseman was descried at the end of a valley. He came with a message from Alı̃ Dost Taghai, to implore forgiveness for his desertion of me, and to offer the surrender of Marghinan. That place was distant about one hundred miles from our station. We rode in haste till we arrived within a farsang of the town, when the Begs represented to me that we ought not to entrust our lives to so reckless a man: but it was too late to reflect. Nothing comes to pass except by the will of God. Reposing on his protection we went forward to the castle, and I was admitted into it with about two hundred and forty companions by Ali Dost. A few days after, my old enemies, Tambol and Hassan, made a raid to the suburbs of Marghinan, without being able to assail the castle. They had tyrannized over my subjects, and their troops began to desert. Their garrison was forced out of the town of Akshi into the citadel by a mob armed with sticks and clubs. At the same time Sultan Mahmud sent an army under the command of his foster-brother to my assistance. Andejan de-

clared in my favour; and thus in June, 1499, my paternal kingdom was restored to me by the favour of the Most High.

When the cabal found that Andejan was held on my account, they were in great confusion. Hassan retired to Akshi; Tambol withdrew to his government of Ush, and his followers seizing Jehangir carried him there also. They were soon driven away by the populace; and Hassan capitulated to me at Akshi, on condition of taking all his property with him to Hissar. He departed with a small retinue, the rest of his partisans remaining behind. My Begs looked at them and said, "This is the very band which has caused all the civil war and devastation. These are the men who have plundered so many true believers. What harm would there be in plundering them? There they are, riding our horses and wearing our clothes, and they kill our sheep and eat them before our eyes. If you will not give order for a general pillage, at least allow us to recover our property." I gave them permission to seize whatever was their own. But this order was issued with too much precipitation. In war and affairs of state no matter ought to be finally determined until it has been viewed in a hundred different lights. This inconsiderate act led ultimately to my second expulsion from Andejan. For the Moguls in my service were filled with

alarm, and marching away in number about four thousand, sent an offer of their services to Sultan Tambol. The horde of Moguls have committed all manner of mischief and devastation: during the course of my life they have five times rebelled against me, and they are very often guilty of the same offence against their own Khans. With their aid Tambol overcame my general, Kasim Beg, in a pitched battle. Upon this I took the field in person, and passed by Ush in pursuit of Tambol. I invested the strong castle of Madu, which is perched on a rock so high above the river, that an arrow shot from the bank opposite would scarcely reach the wall. The enemy discharged upon us from their guns many stones taken from the bed of the river. Abdal Kohbur having climbed the rock up to the foot of the wall was hit by a stone thrown from above, that sent him spinning down from that vast height till he lighted on the glacis * and rolled to the bottom. Yet he received no injury, and immediately mounting his horse he rode back to the camp. The next morning we gained possession of the water-course, and they could hold out no longer.

Being reinforced by the army of Sultan Ka-

* In Asia the glacis is not separated from the wall by a ditch.

rawel I drew forth my troops in regular array with right and left wing, centre and advanced guard, and we encountered the rebels near the village of Khuban. The right wing of Tambol having engaged hand to hand with my left, Kuchik Beg, the brother of Khwajeh Kilan, smote so fiercely that the enemy took to flight, and my flankers and right wing had no opportunity of coming into action. We took a number of prisoners, whose heads I ordered to be struck off. This was my first engagement, and Almighty God of his favour vouchsafed me the victory. I accepted it as a favourable omen. We halted at Kuban, where my maternal grandmother, Shah Sultan Begum, came for the purpose of begging off Jehangir in case he had been taken captive.

The winter was near, and no grain or forage being left in the fields, I returned to Andejan. After some days it was determined in council that, instead of remaining in the capital, it would be better to place the troops in winter cantonments, where they would have plenty of food, and at the same time might defend the open country from the ravages of Tambol. Therefore we constructed huts in the vicinity of Armiân and Nushâb, where there is abundance of feathered game, hares, and foxes. We hunted the mountain-goat and deer in the great forests, and hawked in the smaller jungle for the fowls,

which we likewise shot with forked arrows. During that winter we often fed on the flesh of jungle fowl. January, 1500.

During our sojourn in those quarters, Khodaberdi, the standard-bearer, whom I had lately honoured with the rank of Beg, cut off many foraging parties of Tambol, and his territory was laid waste by the youths of Ush and Andejan. He was nearly reduced to submission; when Kamber Ali, the skinner,* who had the most ample domain of all my Begs, and the greatest number of vassals, asked leave to depart to his government, and after he was gone I could not refuse the same permission to the rest. In the end I found it expedient to return to Andejan.

The governor of Muhammed, Prince Royal of Tashkend, was uncle of Tambol, and Beg Tilbeh, the chamberlain of Mahmud Khan, was his elder brother. The Sultan was wrought upon by them to send a body of men to the assistance of Tambol. After a series of operations in the field a convention was made at the instance of Ali Dost and Kamber, that Jehangir should have the territory on the north of the Sirr, while Andejan and Urkend were to belong to me, but that I should resign the whole to him in the event of

* So named because his father was a skinner.

obtaining Samarcand. Jehangir Mirza on his part engaged to unite his force with mine in the invasion of that kingdom.

After our return to Andejan the deportment of Ali Dost Beg * was completely changed. He began to shew animosity against all who had been my faithful adherents. First of all he dismissed Khalifeh. Then he imprisoned Ibrahim Saru. In the next place he removed Kasim Beg. His son Muhammed began to assume the style of a sovereign in all his intercourse and entertainments. Both father and son relied on the support of Tambol, and I was under the necessity of being silent. Many were the indignities which I endured at that time from both of them.

1500. My cousin, Aisha Sultan Begum, the daughter of Ahmed Mirza, to whom I had been betrothed in my childhood, having arrived at Khojend, I wedded her in the month of Shaban. In the first period of being a married man, though I had no slight affection for her, yet out of bashfulness I visited her only once in fifteen or twenty days. My affection afterwards declined, and my shyness increased, insomuch that my mother the Khanum used to fall upon me and scold me with great fury, sending me off

* Maternal uncle of Baber, and Grand Huntsman.

like a criminal to visit her once in a month or forty days.

At that period Sultan Ali Mirza of Samarcand, provoked by the high state and overbearing influence of the Terkhans, expelled them from the capital. They had taken possession of all Bokhara, and appropriated the revenue. They then joined Weis Mirza his youngest brother, who brought a number of Moguls from Tashkend; but these quarrelling with the Moguls of Samarcand, Ali Mirza obtained an easy triumph. Subsequently the Terkhans invited my assistance. While I was on the march to join them, there came intelligence that Khalil the brother of Tambol had taken Ush by surprise. But I pursued my journey, for the chief nobles of Samarcand had sent for me, and it would have been unwise for the sake of Andejan to forego the chance of reigning in that splendid city. Besides which my best soldiers were gone to prepare their accoutrements, and at the same time the intrigues of Kamber Ali and Ali Dost were but too evident. We proceeded by way of Aspera and the village of Mehen, where Kasim, Ali Dost and Syed Kasim, arrived with a large body of good soldiers. Kamber Ali at that juncture confiding in Tambol left his government of Khojend, and went to consult with him about the army. Tambol put him under arrest, and ad-

vanced to seize his district, verifying the Toorki proverb—

> To trust a friend will shew you raw :
> Your friend will stuff your hide with straw.

He contrived, however, to effect his escape, and after many hardships came to me with bare head and bare feet at Uratippa.

When we reached Yuret Khan the Begs of Samarcand came forth to meet me, and to proffer their allegiance. They assured me that Khwajeh Yahia, the son of Abidulla, was attached to my interest, and that if he could be induced to co-operate heartily with them, the city might be taken without a struggle. I therefore despatched emissaries several times to the Khwajeh, and he without returning any message silently made every exertion to facilitate my entrance. Soon after this Sheibani Khan made himself master of Bokhara, and I retired toward Kesh, where in the course of a few weeks I received tidings that he was in possession of Samarcand. (Autumn of 1500.)

The Queen Mother was led by her stupidity to send a messenger privately to the Khan, with a proposal of marriage, and offered at the same time the surrender of Samarcand upon condition that he should restore it to Ali Mirza on recovering his paternal dominions. Sheibani pretending

to accede to this plan advanced to the Garden of the Meadow, where Ali Mirza, without telling any of the Begs, and attended only by a few servants, went to meet him. The Khan did not give him a flattering reception, and after the first ceremonies were over gave him a seat below his own. Khwajeh Yahia hearing what the Mirza had done, went to pay his respects to Sheibani, who received him without rising, and said severe things to him. The Queen Mother did not meet with more gracious treatment. He seemed to pay less regard to her than to his other women. Sultan Ali was then confounded, and sorely regretted the step he had taken, but it was in vain. The hour of fate was come. He was put to death at the meadow of Kulbeh. From over-anxiety to preserve this transitory life he disregarded his honour, and by following the suggestion of a woman * struck himself out of the list of those who have earned for themselves a glorious name. It is impossible to write any more of so contemptible a person, or listen to a recital of his proceedings.

The Khwajeh Yahia was banished with his two sons to Khorasan, and they were all murdered on their journey by a party of Uzbeks.

* "There is a divine command always to act against the advice of women."—TIMOUR.

Sheibani denied all participation in the deed, but this was only making the matter worse.

When Samarkand had fallen to Sheibani we moved away from Kesh, in company with the Terkhans and other Begs, in the direction of Hissar. They parted from me in the valley of Cheghanian, and took service with Khosrou Shah, while I, without town or land, or any asylum whatever, saw myself compelled to journey through the territory of one who had inflicted the direst evils on my relations.

KHOSROU SHAH was pre-eminent among the Begs of Mahmud Mirza. He came from Turkistan, and was of a Kipchak tribe. In his youth he was in the service of the Terkhans. In the disastrous retreat of Mahmud Mirza from Irak he obtained the favour of that prince, and soon acquired an ascendancy among the grandees at Hissar. His dependents amounted to five or six thousand. He was noted for making a large distribution of food. After the death of Sultan Mahmud at Samarcand, Hussain the sovereign of Khorasan led an army at the end of 1495 against Masaud Mirza the King of Hissar. In the month of May, 1496, the fortress of Hissar was invested by him. Night and day without any intermission the place was assailed by his troops and battered with cannon. Mines were made in four or five places. The mine which

advanced toward the city gate having made great progress the besieged made a countermine, and introduced smoke into it among the besiegers. They on their part instantly closed the entrance of the mine, by reason of which the smoke was forced back upon the besieged, who were obliged to retreat nearly suffocated. At length they drove the men of Khorasan out of the mine with pitchers of water. Two months were spent tediously in mining, and raising works to overtop the wall. The Sultan sent his son, Badia ez Zeman, with a detachment of eight or nine thousand men against Khosrou Shah. They were in camp near Kundez, when Khosrou came upon them at dawn with a body of only four or five thousand, whereat those mighty Mirzas, Emirs, and Chieftains of Khorasan, consulted their ease and remained within the trenches. Their cowardice in that instance became a standing reproach against them. During their retreat Wali, the brother of Khosrou, cut off several parties of their army. Soon after that Hussain Mirza patched up a peace with Masaud, and returned home. It was entirely owing to that ineffectual enterprise of Hussain that Khosrou Shah rose to so high a pitch afterwards. He swayed the whole country on the left bank of the Amu to the Hindoo Coosh, and his retainers amounted to 20,000. Though he was a Turk,

he applied his attention to the mode of raising his revenue, and spent it liberally. He prayed regularly and abstained from forbidden meats, yet he was blackhearted and vicious, of slender talents and a traitor. He never performed any exploit beside that of frightening the Mirzas of Khorasan. With all the power of his many and populous territories, in spite of his magazines and warlike stores, and the multitude of his vassals, he had not the spirit to face a chicken. In 1498, accompanied by Baiesanghar, he marched into Cheghanian, and sent to Masaud Mirza, then at Hissar, a feigned proposal to act with him against Samarcand. All the chiefs and soldiery of Masaud were at that time disaffected to him, owing to his partiality for Sheikh Abdulla Birlas, whose daughter he had married. It was merely for the sake of her * that he united with me in the attempt against Samarcand. He conferred upon Abdulla an allowance of a thousand tumans † and the province of Khutlan, although it was the Jaghire of his household officers. His brother Baiesanghar and Khosrou having lulled him into a feeling of security by their deceit appeared suddenly before Hissar at the beat of morning

* So Francis I. invaded Milan to see a Milanese lady.

† The tuman in 1617 was worth 10 zecchins, a zecchin was worth 9 rupees; in the time of Chardin the tuman was equal to 45 livres.

drum; and captured both the town and castle. Masaud was then residing in a palace erected by his father Mahmud in the vicinity, and thus he was free to escape. He determined to take refuge with SULTAN HUSSAIN, and reached him with a body of followers at the moment when his rebellious son, Badia ez Zeman, was attacking him by surprisal. At the same instant the Sultan was reinforced by a detachment returning from Asterabad, so that Badia ez Zeman was glad to retreat. The King of Khorosan received Masaud graciously, and gave him a daughter in marriage. Seduced, however, by the persuasion of Baki, the brother of Khosrou, at that time serving in the army of Hussain, he departed on a false pretext to the head-quarters of that chieftain. Khosrou after the capture of Hissar instated Baiesanghar in the sovereignty there, and gave Khutlan to his own brother Wali (the saint). Then he laid siege to Balkh, and sent Wali to plunder the Ils and Ulus (*i. e.* roving hordes) in the desert of Zerdek. Wali returned to the camp with 100,000 sheep and 3,000 camels, and many prisoners from the hill country. Khosrou then sent for Baiesanghar from Hissar, and at the same time with the arrival of Masaud Mirza from Khorasan, there came my cousin Miranshah, Prince Royal of Cabul, who was in revolt against his father Ulugh Beg. Some evil-

minded men instigated Khosrou to despatch all three princes at once, and order the Khutbeh to be read in his own name. He did not act in compliance with that advice, but yet, for the sake of this fleeting and worthless world, which never will give lasting happiness to any man, that ungrateful wretch seized the person of Masaud Mirza, a prince whom he had himself reared at Samarcand from tender infancy to manhood, and put out his eyes. Every day until the day of judgment may a hundred thousand curses light on the head of him who advised, and him who perpetrated so black a deed!

After that abominable act, having proclaimed Baiesanghar king, he sent him away to Hissar. But in the year 1499, impelled by the desire of regal power, he enticed Baiesanghar into his company near the river Amu, on pretence of joining in an enterprise against Balkh, and strangled him with a bowstring. Many of his confidential servants were assassinated at the same time. Baiesanghar was born in 1477, the second son of Mahmud. He had large eyes, and a Turcoman visage, and was a very elegant young man. He was of a sweet temper, humane, and a lover of justice. He became king of Samarcand at the age of eighteen, and was immediately attacked by Mahmud Khan. In the engagement which took place, Haider Gokultash, who

led the van of the Moguls, dismounted with all his men to shoot their arrows, and they were ridden down by the mailed warriors of Samarcand, who gained a complete victory. So many thousand of the prisoners were beheaded in the presence of Baiesanghar by his order that his pavilion was shifted several times out of the way of the slain.* He was a generous and liberal prince. He was a poet, and in that character assumed the name of Aadeli. There is a copy of his odes in almost every house at Samarcand. He wrote a fine hand, and had considerable skill in painting; but, like his father, he was given to wine.

In my retreat from Samarcand in the autumn of 1500, when I reached the frontier of Nowendak, a servant of Khosrou presented to me, in the name of his master, nine horses and nine pieces of cloth (among the Moguls and Toorks that number is held sacred, and presents are made by nine or thrice nine pieces of each kind).

We travelled by the side of tremendous gulphs and overhanging precipices, with much loss and suffering, to the confines of Kan. The Malek of Kan is renowned for hospitality and

* The mention of this battle so much out of place is a repetition on the part of Baber, such as often occurs in the memoir.

politeness, but he sent me only one worthless horse, and did not come forth to greet me. Khosrou was equally in repute for generosity, and treated the Terkhans with unbounded kindness. Twice I passed through his country. Let it not be told to my peers that the courtesy which he showed to the lowest of my servants was denied to me!

Oh, my soul! hope not that those in whom there is no good can show it to others!

My next venture was against Keshtud, and thence we passed by Yar Ailak to Asfendek. Sheibani had appointed Vasa Mirsa to be Darogha of Samarcand, with a garrison of five or six thousand men under his command. My followers, good and bad, amounted only to two hundred and forty. Having held a council of war, it was agreed that if any thing was ever to be accomplished, that was the time. Sheibani had taken the city so recently that the inhabitants had probably not yet formed an attachment to him. If we could scale the citadel by surprise, it was probable that they would declare in our favour. With that hope we rode all night, but learning that the garrison was on the alert we returned to Yar Ailak. Nevertheless, placing my confidence in the Almighty, I set forth again on the same enterprise after mid-day prayers, and reaching the Park at midnight, I

detached a party to fix their ladders on the wall opposite to the Lover's Cave. They won their entrance into the citadel without giving the least alarm, and passing quickly to the Turquoise Gate, broke the lock with axes, and threw the gate open just at the moment of my arrival. The citizens in general were fast asleep, but some of the shopkeepers peeping out discovered us, and offered thanksgivings for our success. The rest of the inhabitants were speedily made acquainted with the event, and joined heartily in driving out the Usbeks with clubs and stones. Then they came with joy to welcome me as I sat in the arched hall of the Khanekah, and brought presents of food ready dressed. In the morning my tent was pitched outside the town in the Garden Palace, Bostan Serai, and thither all the men of rank, and persons in office, came to offer their congratulations.

Thus at the age of nineteen,* with only two hundred and forty men, I rescued from the hands of a foreign robber this noble city, which had been the metropolis of my family for nearly a hundred and forty years. Almighty God restored to me my plundered country. The tuman of Shadwar and all Sogd, with its fortresses, before the end of a few months submitted

* The Mahometan year has only 354 days.

to me, and the Usbeks were fain to make their escape. My affairs prospered in every quarter, and I sent for my mother, and grandmother, and all my household from Uratippa. About this time, a daughter was born to me of Aisha Sultan Begum: she was my first child, and I named her Fakher el Nissa, "the ornament of women." In a month or forty days she went to share the mercy of God.

I despatched ambassadors to all the Sultans, Khans, Ameers and Chieftains requesting them to succour me. My brother Jehangir sent only a hundred men, and about five hundred Moguls came from the Sultan of Tashkend. At the end of April, 1501, I marched forth against Sheibani, and fixed my head-quarters at the New Garden, Bagh e nou, where I halted a few days to prepare the munitions of war; thence I went to the town of Sir e pul, Bridge End,* and fortified my camp with a chevaux-de-frise and ditch. Sheibani was within four miles of me. At that time several thousand men were on their march to reinforce my army, and would have joined me on the morrow: but the eight stars were then exactly between the two armies, and if I had allowed the day to pass without fighting, they would have been favourable to the enemy for a fortnight

* The Arabic name was Ras alcantara.

after.* This was all folly. My precipitancy was without excuse. In the morning my troops being arrayed in armour, and their steeds caparisoned in cloth of mail, we advanced against the Uzbeks in order of battle with right and left wing, centre and van. When the two armies confronted each other, the extremity of their right wing turned my left, and wheeled round upon the rear. The Uzbeks in every battle place their main reliance on this movement. I changed the position of my left to meet them. This threw my advanced guard, containing my best veterans, to the right. Nevertheless my centre repulsed the enemy, and drove them back on their main body. Sheibani seemed to have lost the day, but he remained firm. Meanwhile my left wing was routed, and the Uzbek archers poured their volleys upon us both in front and rear. Our Mogul auxiliaries, instead of fighting, began to dismount, and plunder my own follow-

* In Persia at the present time nothing is done without reference to the stars. In 1806 an ambassador was on the point of starting for India at a moment when there was a fortunate conjunction of stars which would not occur again for some months. But there was a baneful invisible constellation of eight stars opposite to his door and to the gate of the city. Therefore a way was broken through the wall of his house and several more adjoining it, and the governor permitted a breach to be made in the city wall for the same reason.

ers. Such is their custom: if they defeat the enemy, instantly they fall upon the booty; and if they are defeated, they plunder their allies, so that, betide what may, they carry off the spoil.

If the Moguls were a race of angels, they were a bad race: and were the name of Mogul written in gold, it would be odious.

Beware of gathering corn from the crop of a Mogul;
For the seed will produce nothing but what is execrable.

The enemy in front made several furious charges, and their arrows from behind doing much execution, the main body of my army gave way, and the battle was lost. Ibrahim Saru was among the slain. The wretches of Moguls were eagerly employed in pillage. Ibrahim Terkhan and many excellent soldiers were unhorsed, stripped, and put to death by them. Scarcely fifteen persons were left with me. Our chargers were heavily accoutred, and we their riders were in complete armour, yet they plunged into the Kohik, where it is more than an arrow-flight in width, and saved our lives by swimming across. Between the time of afternoon and evening prayers we re-entered the citadel. Many Begs of the highest rank perished in this engagement, and nearly all the rest dispersed and fled in every direction. Kamber Ali the skinner, whom I had distinguished by the highest marks of

favour, removed his family from Samarcand and joined Khosrou Shah. On the next day I held a consultation with Khwajeh Makaram, Kasim Beg, and other officers, and it was determined to maintain ourselves in the place for life and for death. My tent was pitched in the Arched Portal of the College of Ulugh Beg. Sheibani took a station at some distance from the city, and as he seemed reluctant to make an assault, the ignorant mob, who had never felt the wound of an arrow or a sabre, shouted out "Glory to the Prophet," and in spite of warning from my veterans marched out clamorously to battle. I sent a body of my household troops to cover their retreat, and when the Uzbeks were driving them back to the Iron Gate, I shot from the top of the gateway with a cross-bow, and those who were with me also kept up a discharge, which beat off the enemy. One day Sheibani made a false attack near the Iron Gate, which drew my attention wholly to that quarter. From the top of Sheikzadeh's Gateway I struck a white horse with my cross-bow, and it fell dead on the spot. In the meantime a body of seven hundred chosen men, advancing near the subterranean water-course called the Camel's Neck, placed twenty-five broad ladders against the wall between the Ironsmiths' Gate and the Needle-makers' Gate. Some of them had already

mounted the wall when Kuch Beg and three other cavaliers fell upon them sword in hand, and drove them back over the wall. The attempt failed entirely. It was then the season of harvest, and nobody had brought us any new corn. The citizens were reduced to extreme distress: some of the meaner sort were constrained to eat dogs and asses: the leaves of trees were gathered to feed our horses: those of the mulberry and blackwood were found to be the best. Some fed them with shavings and raspings of wood soaked in water. The ancients have said that to maintain a fortress, a head, two hands, and two feet are necessary. The head is a governor, the two hands are two friendly armies advancing from opposite sides: the two feet are water and provisions within the fort.*

It was vain to expect succour from any of the neighbouring princes. My uncle the Khan of Tashkend was indeed persuaded by his brother Ahmed to take the field against Sultan Tambol, who had marched from Andejan to Bishkend. The two armies came into counterview in the vicinity of Leklekan, but retired without a battle. Mahmud was not a fighting man, and was totally ignorant of war. On this occasion he betrayed

* Or it may mean that the defenders of a town ought to have heads and limbs, but no organs of digestion.—C. M.

signs of apprehension both in his words and actions. Ahmed Beg his brother, a sincere and brave man, said to him in his blunt manner, "What kind of man is this Tambol, to cause you so much consternation? If your eyes are afraid, why bind them up and then fight." (Autumn of 1501.)

The blockade of Samarcand being drawn out to a great length the citizens and soldiers could bear privation no longer, and therefore having made a sort of capitulation with Sheibani, I took my departure at midnight in company with my mother and two other ladies.* My eldest sister Khanzadeh Begum fell into the hands of Sheibani. He divorced her aunt in order that he might marry her. She had a daughter by him, but afterwards he gave her away in marriage to a Syed. During the night we lost our way among the canals of Sogd, and it was dawn before we reached Khwajeh Didar. On the road I had a race with Kamber Ali and Kasim Beg, in which my horse took the lead. As I turned round to look at them, the girth being slack, my saddle slipped down and I fell upon my head. Although I was able to rise immediately and re-

* This was a more modest departure than that of Prince Cobourg from Brussels in 1794, who forbade the citizens on pain of death to be in the streets, or open their windows or doors, or even look through them at his retreating army.

mount, I did not recover full possession of myself until the evening, and all that happened at the time passed away from my memory like a dream. In the afternoon we halted at Ilan uti, where we killed a horse, cut him up, and dressed a few slices of the flesh. On the second day we reached Dizak. Here we found plenty of flour and meat, sweet melons and grapes, so that we passed at once from the torments of hunger and the fear of death, to a state of ease and peace, abundance and security. In my whole life I never was so happy. In the fortress of Beshager we found an Atun (a governess) who had long been in the service of the Khanum my mother. She had been left behind at Samarcand for want of a horse, and had travelled thither on foot. At Uratippa we heard that my aunt, the wife of Sultan Mahmud Hussain, governor of that province, had departed this life. My father's mother also came to her end about this time at Andejan. My mother having been separated from her mothers, brothers and sisters for thirteen years or more since the death of Yunis Khan, then went to see them at Tashkend. My baggage was deposited at Dehkat, and I followed her in a few days, in the hope that Mahmud would bestow some province upon me, and accordingly he gave me Uratippa, but Hussain, perhaps in compliance with a hint from high authority, refused

to resign it to me: therefore I returned to Dehkat. The inhabitants of that village, though Sarts, have large flocks of sheep, and herds of mares, like the Toorks. I lodged in the house of one of the head men, whose mother was still living at the age of a hundred and eleven years. While I was there I commonly went barefoot over the hills with my companions, and our feet soon became so hard, that we did not mind rock or stone in the least. In that winter, by the advice of Kasim Beg, I sent a cap of ermine to Jehangir, and, though with great reluctance, a large sword, which had been made in Samarćand for Nevian Gokaltash, to Sultan Tambol. This was the very sword which afterwards came down upon my head. In the same winter Sheibani having passed the river of Khojend on the ice, ravaged the territory of Shabrokia. On hearing this, without regarding the smallness of my force, I marched against him into the region below Khojend. It was extremely cold, and the wind from Ha-Dervish blew violently. Being under an obligation to bathe on account of religious purification, I went to a rivulet, which was not frozen in the middle owing to the violence of the stream. Here I dived sixteen times. The chillness of the water quite penetrated me. When the Uzbeks had retreated, I made a short stay in the village of Ahengeran. Momin, the

son of Mulla Haider, invited Nevian* Gokultash to an entertainment on the top of a precipice. On the next day it was reported to me that Gokultash had fallen over the edge of the rock in a state of drunkenness and was killed. Many suspected that Momin was the cause of his death. The truth no man can know. The loss of him affected me deeply. There are few persons for whose death I have grieved so much. I wept incessantly for more than a week. I discovered the date of his death in Font Shud Nevian, "Nevian is dead" (these words give 907). In the spring of 1502 Sheibani entered Uratippa, and I was compelled to ramble from hill to hill without a resting-place. Being weary of this I made another visit to Tashkend, and presented the following rubai to Mahmud for his opinion, being dubious about the rhyme:

No one remembers him who is in adversity;
A banished man cannot indulge his heart in happiness.
My heart is far from joy in this exile:
However brave, an exile has no pleasures.

The Khan had some pretensions to taste, and moreover was a writer of odes, but I could not obtain an explicit answer from him. 1502.

Presently there came tidings that Tambol

* Nevian meant in a former age a foreigner of royal blood residing at the Court of the Sovereign.

was moving against Uratippa. Wherefore the Khan led forth his army from Tashkend in due order with right and left wing, and then, after the Mogul custom, formed the ivim or hunting circle. The horns were blown, and the Khan having alighted they brought nine horsetail standards. One Mogul stood by, holding the shank-bone of an ox, to which a long cotton cloth was tied. Another fastened three strips of white cloth beneath the horsetail of the standard, and passed them under the staff of the nine streamers. The Khan took his stand on the corner of one cloth, while I stood upon another, and Prince Muhammed upon the third. Then the Mogul, who tied the cloths, taking the shank-bone in his hands, made an oration in the Mogul tongue, often pointing to the standards. Then the Khan and all the men near him took some spirit of mare's milk, and sprinkled it towards the nine standards. In that instant all the drums and trumpets struck up at once, and the soldiers raised the war-cry. These ceremonies were repeated thrice. After that they leaped on horseback, then sent up the shout of battle, and put their horses to full speed. The customs established by Zingis Khan are observed to the present day. Every man has an appointed station in the right, left, or centre, and the post is inherited from generation to generation. Next

morning the army formed the ivim, and hunted in the vicinity of Sam Seirek. The first ghazel that I ever composed was finished at this station. It began with these lines:—

I have no faithful friend in the world but my soul;
Except my own heart I have no trusty confidant.

This was a useless expedition of Sultan Mahmud. He took no fortress, and encountered no enemy. We went and came back again.

While I was at Tashkend most of my servants being in absolute want forsook me, and not more than one or two used to accompany me to the Diwan. In one respect I was fortunate that this humiliation did not befal me among strangers, but among my own kindred. At length my patience gave way, and I said to myself, "Rather than appear in this state of debasement it were good to flee from the sight of man as far as my feet would bear me." I resolved to travel into Northern China (Khita), and with this view I made a pretence of visiting my younger uncle, Ahmed Khan. From my infancy I had felt a strong desire to visit China. My uncle Mahmud guessed that I was discontented, and hesitated to give permission for my departure. In the mean time it was announced that Sultan Ahmed was on his way to Tashkend. Upon this Shah Begum, with two sisters of Ah-

med, and the two Princes-royal of Tashkend, went with me to meet him. On the following day I was riding carelessly among the villages, when suddenly I found myself face to face with him. He was very much disconcerted, for he had designed to alight and seat himself in order that he might receive and embrace me with due ceremony. But I came upon him too quickly for this, and springing from my horse kneeled down and then embraced him. Then he ordered his two sons to dismount, and kneel, and salute me in the same manner. When he came to the Shah Begum and the other Khanums,* they sat down together and talked over past occurrences until after midnight. On the morrow he gave me a complete dress and horse ready saddled. The dress consisted of a Mogul cap embroidered with gold thread, a long frock of Chinese satin, adorned with flowered needlework: and a Chinese cuirass with a whetstone and purse pocket, from which three or four trinkets were dangling, and the same on the left side likewise. Sultan Mahmud came above twelve miles from Tashkend to meet his brother: and was seated under an awning, when Ahmed advanced towards him, then made a circuit round the place, and again presented himself in front, and at the proper dis-

* As Beg into Begum, so Khan into Khanum.

tance performed the kornish by kneeling nine times, upon which the elder Khan arose, and they embraced each other. Ahmed on retiring bowed nine times, and as often on presenting his tribute.

The two Sultans rode forth with thirty thousand cavalry against Tambol through the Blacksmiths' Dale, and I was sent with a division across the river of Khojend. At sunrise I assailed the fort of Ush, while the garrison were off their guard, and they were forced to surrender. Tambol in the meantime maintained himself in a fortified encampment fronting the Khans between Akshi and Karnau. In a few days all the people on my side of the river declared for me: and the soldiers of Tambol hearing of my success began to disperse, and he retired toward Andejan. Although we had intelligence of this, yet through inexperience I was guilty of a gross oversight: for we fell asleep in the open plain without placing an advanced party, nor even one sentinel. Just before dawn Kamber Ali galloped up, exclaiming "The enemy are upon us, rouse yourselves." I was very soon upon my horse with ten or fifteen followers. We drove back a party of skirmishers upon the main body. Tambol standing on the other side of the road with about a hundred men, and said, "Smite them, smite them;" but they stood at gaze, and seemed to

be saying, "Shall we flee?" At this moment there were only three persons with me. I let fly an arrow, which struck the helmet of Tambol. Again I drew to the ear and sped another at him. At that instant my thigh was pierced by an arrow of the kind called Sheibah, and Tambol rushing on smote my steel cap with his sword of Samarcand and stunned me. My sword was rusty, and I lost time in drawing it. I was alone in a multitude of enemies. Therefore I turned my bridle round, receiving another sabre stroke on my quiver. Dost Beg * here interposed to save me from Tambol, and three foot-soldiers joining me we escaped across a ford of the river. Many of my best men were slain on that day. Sultan Mahmud made over to his brother Ahmed all the places which I had regained, alleging that with so formidable an enemy as Sheibani at Samarcand, it was needful to place Ahmed in a strong position at a less distance than Mogulistan. Willing or not I was obliged to acquiesce. While they were besieging Andejan, Tambol received a letter from Sheibani to announce that the Uzbek army was in motion to join him. The report of this intimidated the Khans, and to my great vexation they retreated. After a vain endeavour to defend Akshi against Sultan Tambol,

* This is not Ali Dost Taghai.

I fled with a few men, fighting at every step. The enemy pursued us hotly, and as we passed the Garden Dome within a kos of Akshi, Ibrahim Beg calling to me for assistance, I saw him fighting with a slave, and turned my horse round to aid him, when Bian Kuli seized the reins and hurried me onward. We were eight in number, and there were only twenty-five horsemen in chace of us. But we thought there were more behind them, and therefore continued our flight. Bian Kuli said to me, " Do you and Gokultash each take one of our horses besides your own and ride away." This afforded the best hope of escape, but I refused to leave any of my friends dismounted. By and by they began to fall into the rear one after another, and were overtaken. The horse of Dost Beg and mine both began to flag. Then Kamber Ali alighted and gave me his. Mirza Kuli accompanied me till his horse was completely blown, and I rode on by myself. Two of the enemy, Baba Seirami and Bandeh Ali were in sight. I had about twenty arrows left in my quiver. They called to me again and again in a friendly tone, but I pressed forward without regarding them, and went up a glen till about bed-time prayers, when I reached a large rock, and led my horse behind it. They also dismounted and addressed me in a still more respectful style of expostulation, saying, " What

end can it serve to go onward in this dark night where there is no road? Both of them with a solemn oath asserted that Tambol desired to place me on the throne. I replied, "I cannot believe any thing of the kind. If you are in earnest you can serve me by pointing out a road that will lead me to the Khans, and I will reward you even beyond your highest desires. If not, return, and leave me to fulfil my destiny." "Would to God," they answered, "we had never come; but how can we now forsake you in this desolate situation? Since you will not accept our company, we will follow and serve you wherever you go." Then I said, "Swear unto me by the Holy Book that you are sincere in your offer:" and they took that awful oath. Nevertheless I did not entirely confide in them, and therefore I made them go before me. They practised various arts to beguile me out of my way, and by the third watch we found ourselves at the river of Karnan in the enemy's country. "Shew me," I said, "some spot where we may be concealed during the day." They pointed to a hillock at some little distance: but one of them, Bandeh Ali, said, "Neither we nor our horses can hold on much longer without food. I will go to Karnan and procure some." After a long time he returned with three loaves, but no grain for the horses. Then we went to the

hillock, and having tied our horses in the low marshy ground, we kept watch on each side. After a while Bandeh persuaded me to hide in a garden of the suburbs, and sent a messenger to inform Tambol. It was the winter season,* and the cold was extreme. They brought me an old mantle of lambskin with the wool inside, and gave me a dish of millet pottage, which I found wonderfully comfortable. Having entered a house I closed my eyes for a moment to sleep. These crafty men, however, induced me to remove from that spot to the outskirt of the suburb. Baba Seirami kept watch on the terrace roof. It was near noon when he came down and said, "Here comes Yusef, the Darogha."† I was seized with violent alarm, and said, "Learn if he knows that I am here." Baba, after some conversation with him, returned, saying, "Yusef the Darogha tells me that at the gate of Akshi he met a man on foot who said the King was in Karnan, and he put the man in custody, after which he came here at full speed; and that the Begs are not acquainted with the fact." I asked him, "What do you think of the

* 1502-3.

† The Darogha in Persia is a Lieutenant of Police who acts in subservience to the Hakim.—Sir J. Malcolm.

Baber uses the term as synonymous with Hakim.

matter?" He answered, "They are all your servants: there is nothing left for you but to join them. They will undoubtedly make you king." "But after such quarrels and war," I replied, "with what confidence can I place myself in their power?" I was still speaking when Yusef the Darogha suddenly presented himself, and throwing himself on his knees before me exclaimed, "Why should I conceal any thing from you? Sultan Tambol knows nothing of this, but Sheikh Bayezid his brother has heard where you are, and has sent me hither." On hearing these words I was thrown into a state of terrible agitation. There is nothing which affects a man with more anguish than the near prospect of death. "Tell me the truth," I cried, "if indeed my case is likely to be other than what I desire, that I may at least perform my last ablutions." Yusef swore again and again, but I did not heed his oaths. I felt my strength gone. I rose and went into a corner of the garden. I meditated with myself, and said, "Should a man live a hundred, nay a thousand years, yet at last he ——"

In this abrupt manner the memoir is broken off, and it is not easy to fill up the blank. The narrative of Abulfazil is very imperfect here. From the account of Ferishta it seems that Baber rejoined his uncles, but with little benefit to himself; for Sheibani, invited by Tambol, arrived soon

after with an army more numerous than the raindrops, and routed the Moguls in a bloody conflict. The Khans were both taken captive, and Baber fled into Mogulistan. We do not learn from Baber the end of Tambol, except that he was captured by Sheibani. The Uzbek Prince took possession of Tashkend, Shahrokia, and all the dominions of the two brothers. The Uzbeks still hold the empire founded by him in Transoxiana. Sultan Mahmud Khan, according to Baber, was put to death by Sheibani at Khojend, and Sultan Ahmed died soon after. Baber escaped into Asfera, and after wandering in distress for a whole year among the hills, all hope of recovering Ferghana being gone, he determined to try his fortune in Khorasan, "the region of the sun," then under the sway of SULTAN HUSSAIN MIRZA (1504). With this view he crossed the mountains, and bidding adieu for the last time to the scenes of his early pleasures and affections, descended into the domain of Khosrou Shah, who at that period gave the law to Hissar, Kundez, Khutlan, and Budukshan.

In Cabul Ulugh Beg, the uncle of Baber, had died in 1501, leaving the throne to his son Abdal Rizak Mirza, a mere stripling. Shirim Ziker, his prime minister, became very odious to the nobles, and was assassinated at a grand festival on the conclusion of Ramzan. The kingdom was

for some time in a state of anarchy, until Mokim, the son of Zulnun Arghun, of his own accord marched from the Gurmser, "warm region," and made himself master of Cabul. His father, though nominally subject to Hussain Mirza, was almost independent in Candahar, and held the chief sway in Zemindawer, the country of the Hazaras and Nukderis, the Gurmser, and a large portion of Sistan.

The narrative is thus resumed.

In the month of Moharrem (which began 14th of June, 1504), I quitted Ferghana and entered the summer cots of Ilâk, a pastoral district belonging to Hissar. Here I entered my twenty-third year, and began to use the razor. (The Turks always give an entertainment on this occasion.) My followers were less than three hundred, and among them all there were but two tents. My own tent was pitched for my mother, and they erected for me at every stage a felt-tent of cross-poles. Although I was on my way to Khorasan, I was not without hope of advancing my interest among the dependents of Khosrou, who were reported to be favourable to me. When I crossed the Amu his brother, Baki Cheghaniani, came to pay his respects at the ferry of Ubâj. At his desire I moved down towards Termez, whither he brought all his family and effects. We proceeded to Bamian and Aibek,

where several young cavaliers brought assurances from the Moguls that they were attached to me. Our wives and families were placed in the fortress of Ajer, and while we were there Jehangir wedded his cousin the daughter of Mahmud Mirza. At that time Baki was constantly urging his opinion that two sovereigns in one country and two commanders in one army must be a source of strife and confusion, and therefore that it would be good to send Jehangir away to Khorasan in a friendly manner; for the chiefs and servants of Khosrou would soon make their submission to me, and among them there were turbulent men, such as Yusef Ayub and Behlul Ayub, who would alienate the mind of Jehangir from me, and so it happened in the end, but I was unwilling to treat my brother with any appearance of harshness.

At that period Sheibani was menacing the southern region, and our apprehension of him was heightened by strange longsome letters from Hussain Mirza, in which he proposed to stand on the defensive behind the river Murghab,* and in the hills of Badakshan. Very soon we heard that Sheibani had taken Andejan, and was pushing onward against Hissar and Kundez. Upon this Khosrou Shah took the route toward Cabul, and immediately three or four thousand Mogul

* The river of Merv, and a tributary of the Amu.

heads of families came into my service, just at the time when I reached the Red River. There I was obliged to dismiss Kamber Ali, the skinner: for his rude and thoughtless talk was intolerable to Baki. When Khosrou was informed that all the Moguls had gone over to me, he sent a messenger to make a tender of his allegiance, and it was agreed that I should spare his life, and leave his property to his own disposal. It was the end of August, 1504, when I crossed the Anderab and took my seat under the shade of a lofty palm. From the opposite quarter Khosrou advanced with a numerous retinue, dismounted at some distance, and in approaching me bowed thrice, and as often when he retired. He likewise made an obeisance on presenting his gift. This pompous man, who had wanted nothing of royalty, but that the Khutbeh was not read in his name, now bent himself five and twenty times in succession, till he was tired, and nearly fell down before my face. After bringing his present he conversed with me on various topics. He shewed a great want of propriety and a sneering turn in his conversation. One remark that surprised me was made upon his dependants and servants, who were coming over to me before his eyes: "These fellows have already left me three or four times, and always come back again." After he had sat with me for nearly an

hour, we returned each to his own camp. On that same day his officers and servants came to me with their families: there was not a man left with him on the morrow at mid-day. (Arabic:) "Say, oh, my Lord, Thou art the King of kings; Thou givest empire to whom Thou wilt, and takest it away. Beneficence is in thy hand." The Lord is wonderful in his power. A man who was master of twenty or thirty thousand vassals, and ruled the whole country from the Iron Gate to the Hindoo Coosh, whose tax-gatherer had conducted me in a surly manner from Ilâk to the Amu, ordering how far I was to march and where I was to encamp, this very person in the space of half a day, being conquered without a blow, was reduced to make his appearance before a needy fugitive who had only two hundred and fifty ragged companions: he had no longer any power over his own servants, his property, or his life! He was permitted to load three or four strings of mules,* and all his camels, with jewels and utensils of gold and silver, and I directed Shirim Taghai to conduct him on the way toward Khorasan, and then bring my family after me to Cabul. (Autumn of 1504.)

In a few marches we reached the mountain-pass of Ghur bend. On coming to our ground at

* Seven to a string.—LEYDEN.

Ushter Sheher we gained intelligence that Shirkeh Arghun, in ignorance of my approach, had taken post on the river Baran. Instantly we started again and rode all night to the high defile of Hupiân, where for the first time I saw the star Soheil (Canopus) shining in the south. Baki Cheghaniani recited these lines:

Oh Soheil, how far dost thou shine, and where dost thou rise?
Thine eye is an omen of good fortune to him on whom it falls.

The sun was spear-high when we reached the valley of Sinjed. My advanced party routed the troops of Shirkeh, and took him prisoner. Sidim Ali Derbân, with the Hazaras of the desart, joined me near Karabagh. Another body of the Ils and Uluses, under Yusef and Behlul Ayub, came to me at the same time. My army was further augmented by the arrival of the Aimâks of Kundez, and two more bodies of Uluses. We halted in the meadow of White House near Karabagh, and here the old followers of Khosrou began to commit acts of violence upon the natives. At last a retainer of Sidim Ali having taken a jar of oil by force, I ordered him to be beaten with sticks. He expired under the punishment, and this example put an end to all such practices. Thence we proceeded to the meadow of Chalak, where it was resolved in

council to besiege Cabul. I halted with the main body near the tomb of Kul Bayezid the cupbearer (*i. e.* where his tomb now stands): Jehangir took post with the right wing on the spot which became afterwards my Charbagh (grand garden and palace): my youngest brother, Nasir Mirza, was stationed behind the sepulchre of Kutluk Kedem. Our troops galloped insultingly up to the Curriers' Gate. Between this gate and the bridge there were pitfalls thickly set with sharp stakes, and covered with turf. Several of the cavaliers riding at full speed fell into these pits. Mokim the Usurper had tried to amuse me with conciliatory messages, but upon my advance up to the wall he capitulated, and was introduced to me by Baki Cheghaniani. I did my utmost to dispel his apprehension, and permitted him to retire with all his baggage and servants to his father Kandahar.

Thus in the beginning of October, 1504, by the blessing of God I won the dominion of Cabul and Ghuznee, with all the provinces dependent on them.* About that time, at the instance of my mother, I took to wife Zeineb Sultan Begum, the fifth daughter of Mahmud Mirza. We did not agree very well: two or three years after the marriage she died of the small-pox.

* Cabul was subject to his descendants until the end of the 17th century.

Cabul is situate in the fourth climate in the midst of the habitable world. On the east is Lamghanat, Peshawer, and Hashnaghar: on the west are the mountains occupied by the Hazara and Nukderi tribes. On the south are Fermul and Naghz, Banû and Afghanistân. (The city of Cabul stands about 6500 feet above the level of the sea, enclosed on three sides by a semicircular hill of gneiss 1000 feet high. It is open toward the east, where the main road enters the city, and on that side is a rampart. The upper Bala Hissar is on a hill north of this entrance, and commands all the lowland. Most of the houses are built of wood instead of stone, on account of the earthquakes. The chief part of the city is on the south side of the river, which is about thirty-five yards in width.) To the south-west of the town there is a hill called Shah Kabul, a palace having been built there by a King of Kabul. The skirt of this hill is entirely laid out with gardens, irrigated by a stream which was brought thither in the reign of my uncle Ulugh. Lower down the river there is a retired spot in which much debauchery has taken place. To the east of Shah Kabul there is a lake nearly a kos in circumference. (The only hill to the south-west is that where Baber himself was interred. It is now known by the name of Baber Bâdshâh, and is the chief place of holiday resort

for the citizens. The beauty and profusion of flowers in this country are celebrated by Persian and Indian writers, and the fruits are transported to the farthest parts of Hindostan. The valley of Istaulef is computed to contain six thousand orchards.) All travellers who have seen the vale of Kabul say that it is enchanting. The citadel is of surprising height, and the atmosphere there is delightful. In the spring it is cooled by the north wind, which blows incessantly. Kandahar and Cabul are the two great marts between India and the west. The caravans of Khorasan go by Kandahar; those of Ferghana and all Maweralnahar resort to Cabul. It is an excellent emporium of commerce. Every year fifteen or twenty thousand pieces of cloth are brought hither from India. Were the merchants to transport their commodities to Khita or Rûm (China or Turkey), they would scarcely receive the same profit upon them. Many are not satisfied with obtaining thirty or forty for ten.* The productions of Khorasan, Rûm and Irâk, and all China, are to be found here, as well

* This high rate of profit might arise from the extreme risk of conveyance, which gave those who ran the hazard a monopoly in the market.

"The rate of profit is naturally low in rich and high in poor countries, and it is always highest in the countries which are going fastest to ruin."—SMITH.

as the sugar, spices, and drugs of Hindostan. Not less than eight or ten thousand horses arrive yearly at Cabul.

(The climate of this country is dry and little subject to mist or clouds. The prevailing winds are from the west. From the size, strength, and activity of the natives we judge that the atmosphere is salubrious. Yet there are diseases perhaps more fatal than those of India. Fever and agues occur in the spring, and are common in the autumn. The small-pox carries off many victims, although inoculation has long been practised by the Moollas and Syeds. Ophthalmia is likewise common. The difference of temperature between winter and summer, and between day and night, is greater than in England or India. The snow lies several feet deep for five months. In that season the people are all clad in woollen garments, and here and there in clothes of felt, over which they wear a great coat of well-tanned sheepskin, with the long wool inside. They often sleep around stoves with huge pieces of sheepskin thrown over both the stoves and their legs to confine the heat. They seldom leave their houses, except that the young men hunt wolves in the snow. But when the vernal equinox is past, the snow disappears on a sudden, the country is overspread with verdure, the leaf-buds rapidly expand, and are succeeded by

innumerable flowers. The townsmen then exchange their winter attire for a dress of chintz or cotton, and often sleep under a tree or in the open air. It is no wonder that the Nouroz or vernal equinox has always been kept as a joyous festival in these countries. At noon in midsummer the thermometer is commonly at 90.)

From Kabul a man may travel, in one day, to a place where snow never falls, and in two astronomical hours to where it never melts. The fruits of the temperate region are grapes, pomegranates, jujubes, pears, apples, damsons, apricots, almonds, walnuts, and quinces, all in great abundance. I caused the acid cherry-tree and the sugar-cane to be planted here. The cherry thrives, and bears fruit.* There is a number of bee-hives, and honey is brought from the hill country on the west. The orange, citron, amlúk, and sugar-cane, are obtained from Lamghanat. Cabul is not fertile in grain: a return of three or four for one is thought a fair

* On the side of a hill, near Kabul, Baber formed a tank of red granite, which he often caused to be filled with wine, and engaged beautiful women to sing and dance round it. On the sides of it these Persian lines are engraved:—"Sweet is the return of the new year." "Sweet the smiling spring." "Sweet is the juice of the mellow grape." "Sweeter, far, the voice of love." "Strive, oh Baber, to secure the enjoyments of life," "Which, alas! once departed, will never more return."

crop. There is a species of grape called the water-grape, which is very delicious: the wine made of it is strong and intoxicating. That which is produced on the skirt of the mountain Khwajeh Khan-Saaid is celebrated for potency. In the meadows near Cabul there is good pasture, but the horses are annoyed by mosquitoes. There are seven passes across the Hindoo Coosh. I came by that of Kipchak, which leads by the confluence of the Surkhâb and Anderâb. In the spring, when the streams overflow, all the passes are as difficult as in winter. The valleys of Cabul are inhabited by Toorks, Aimâks, and Arabs: in the cities and villages, the population consists chiefly of Tajiks. On the whole there are eleven or twelve languages spoken in the country — Arabic, Persian, Toorki, Mogholi, Hindi, Afghani, and others. (The Afghans believe they are descended from Afghân, a grandson of Saul, and call themselves Beni Israel; but there is no affinity between the Hebrew language and the Pushtoo, the modern Afghan language. The nation gives itself the name of Pushlun, in the plural Pushtaunee. The Eimauks and Hazarahs dwell in the Paropamisan mountains. Their language is chiefly a dialect of the Persian; their features and habits are like those of the Moguls. The Eimauks live entirely in camps, which they call orde. The Hazaurahs

take their name from the Persian hazar, a thousand. One of their tribes is called the Tartar Hazarahs. The villages of the Hazaurehs often consist of two hundred thatched houses, with a tower, in which a sentinel is always set, with a kettle-drum to sound an alarm. The women are never beaten by their husbands, as in all the neighbouring countries. The Hazarahs are very merry and passionate: they believe the King of Cabul to be as tall as the tower of a castle.—MALTE BRUN and ELPHINSTONE.)

It may be doubted whether so many different races could be found in any other country. The kingdom is divided into fourteen Tumans, a name equivalent to the Hindoo Pergunnah. On the east are the five tumans and two baluks of Lamghanat (now Lughman). In that province the Gurmser, or warm climate, is divided from the cold région only by the steep defile called Badam Cheshmeh, "the almond spring." Snow falls on the Cabul side of the pass, but not on the other. The Governor of Nangenhar resides at Adinapoor.* Opposite to the fortress I formed the Garden of Fidelity in 1508, and in 1524 the sugar-cane and plantain which I set there were both thriving. In the south-west portion of this garden there is a tank twenty feet

* Now Jelalabad.

square, encircled with orange-trees; to the south of it the White Mountain, Koh e Sefid, rises with a steep ascent to the height of 14,000 feet. Nine streams (nung nehaur), descend from it; and hence the name of the Tuman Nangenhar. It is the highest mountain in the Solimaun range, and nearest to the Hindoo Coosh. The snow on the summit never melts; but in the dales below men die sometimes by mere exposure to the hot wind. This mountain divides the Tuman of Nangenhar from Bangash, in which there is a chain of red sand-stone hills, stretching across the Indus, and containing rock-salt. In the Tuman of Alisheng, which borders on Kaferistan, is the tomb of the Holy Lam, the father of Nuh. In some histories he is called Lamek. Of the two Baluks in Lamghanat one is Dereh Nur, the Valley of Light, a very fine district. The ground is chiefly laid out in rice-fields: it has the orange, the citron, and the date-palm: the wine also is good. Another Tuman is Nijrow, to the north-east of Cabul; behind it all the people of the hills are Kafirs, and the country, which is a sequestered corner, is called Kaferistan. They are all wine-bibbers: every one of them carries a leathern bottle of wine about his neck. They never pray: they fear neither God nor man; and are heathenish in their usages. The pine, the oak, the mastic-tree, and the julguzeh, a kind

of pine with cones larger than artichokes, abound in this region. The natives of the hills burn the fir instead of lamps, and it yields a strong light. The Tuman of Ghurbend contains only a few villages, and contributes little to the revenue. Lower down, near the skirt of the mountains, the ground is diversified with a vast variety of tulips. One kind is the hundred-leaved tulip (this is the double poppy); another emits a fragrance like that of the rose, therefore I gave it the name of laleh, gul, bui.

Kabul is supplied with ice from Kohi Baba (Mountain Father), which is 18,000 feet high. The river Helmund rises in that mountain. At the foot of it there are very fine grapes, in the villages of Istalif and Istergach. Below Istalif is the fountain called Kwajeh seh yaran, "Khwajeh three friends." Around it are several oaks and planes, and anemone-trees (arghwan). When the arghwan flowers are in full bloom there is no spot in the world comparable to this. The three kinds of tree are said to have been produced by the power of three holy men beloved of God. (In the mountains around Cabul there is silver, copper, lead, iron, antimony, lapis lazuli, and asbestos. The sand of the Kirman river is washed for gold. There are cedars and a gigantic kind of cypress in the highland tract. In the lowland there is the poplar, the plane, the

willow, and the tamarisk: saltpetre is made every where from the soil. Sixty miles west-north-west of Cabul, in a valley on the north side of the Hindoo Coosh, is Bamian, a place celebrated for numerous excavations, which extend eight miles along the mountain side, and for the colossal idols, Silsal and Shahmana, two human figures cut in high relief: the largest is 120 feet high.)

The region of Ghazni is often denominated a Tuman. (This city, which, eight centuries ago, was the metropolis of an empire extending from the Tigris to the Ganges, has now only fifteen hundred houses. It is in the same latitude with Bagdad and Damascus, but in a site so much more elevated that snow lies deep there, even at the vernal equinox. Among the remains of antiquity are two minarets, one of them a hundred and fifty feet high. The tomb of Sultan Mahmud, composed of white marble and covered with a cupola, stands about three miles from the city. The lofty doors of sandal-wood were brought by him as a trophy from the temple of Somnaut in Guzerat: on the tomb are inscribed Arabic verses from the Koran, and at the head of it is the heavy mace which broke the idol Somnat, and which few but the monarch himself could wield in battle.*

* The mace has disappeared, and the gates were removed by the British into India.

There are likewise chairs, inlaid with mother-of-pearl. Some Moollas are still maintained, who read the Koran aloud over the grave.—ELPHINSTONE.)

There are many holy tombs at Ghuznee. In the time of the Sultan there were several mounds for collecting water; one of them was eighty feet high. Alaeddin Ghuri, when he subdued this country, broke down the mound, burned and destroyed many of the royal tombs, sacked the city, and massacred the inhabitants. It was from this he obtained the title of Jehansoz, "burner of the world."

The grapes of Ghazni are superior to those of Cabul, but the chief produce is madder, which is sold all over India. I was informed that there was a mausoleum near Ghazni, in which the tomb shook, whenever the Prophet's benediction was pronounced over it. This was an imposition of the attendants, effected by erecting a kind of scaffold over the tomb, so that it could be shaken when one of them stood above.

The Baluk of Alah Sai lies to the east of Nijrow. In this quarter the defile of Korah leads at once from the warm to the cold climate. By this the birds fly into the highland at the commencement of spring. At various points in the ascent the fowlers conceal themselves in

cots of stone. They lay nets across the defile, fastened at one end with heavy stones, and when through the loop-holes of their huts the birds are seen to fly upward, with a sudden jerk the nets are raised to intercept them. By this device they sometimes take so many that there is no time to repeat the confession of faith while they break their necks. (Eat of that whereon the Name of God hath been commemorated.—Koran, cap. 6. The idolatrous Arabs used to consecrate the animals which they killed for food by saying, "In the name of Allah," or "Al Uzza.") In the highland of Lamghanat there are forests of pine, oak, olive, and mastic (Pistacia lentiscus), the kerkend, and the bitter almond, which is the most common of all: but the mastic is the best firewood; it burns brightly and yields a sweet perfume. The kirkend is a low, prickly shrub, that will burn whether green or dry: it is the only fuel used at Ghazni. In Cabul the winter is intensely cold, but the townsmen receive a plentiful supply of wood from the northern hills. (The inhabitants of Kohistan derive their chief subsistence from the mulberry-trees.)

The main passage of wild birds is near the river Baran, through a defile into the Hindoo Coosh. Besides a multitude of waterfowl that feed in that river, innumerable flocks of cranes

and herons arrive in the spring. If the wind blow down the pass, or the head of it be mantled with dense and heavy clouds, all these birds alight in the valley of Baran. The natives take their stand in the pass, with a double-pointed arrow at the end of a long string, which they hold by a horn handle; the string is wound on a thick stick, then the stick is taken out, and the hollow roll of string remains ready to follow the arrow. In dark and rainy nights the birds fly about all night long, through fear of ravenous animals, and they fly so low that it is easy to strike them. If the arrow falls on the neck or wings of the bird, the cord twists round and brings it down.* The people of Baran catch a great number of herons in this manner, and the plumes are among the commodities conveyed by merchants into Irak and Khorasan. Many cranes are taken in springes on the banks of the river Baran in the spring. The migration of fish in that river takes place in the same season; they are caught in frames of basketwork, which let the water through and retain the fish. In the autumn, when the plant called wild-asses' tail has ripened its seed, they take ten loads of it, and twenty of the plant gok shibak, and throw them into the stream together to intoxicate the fish, which in

* Perhaps the reader may understand this—I cannot.

that state are borne along the current into wickerwork made of the tal tree.

(Further eastward is the river Cheghanserai, the same with the Kameh or Kashgar. It rises about three hundred miles to the north in Push-tikhur, which is the culminating point of the Cloudy Mountains. It flows down along the east flank of that chain by Chitraul. In this part of its course the water is overhung by entire cliffs of lapis lazuli. The river has found a passage through the main range of the Hindoo Coosh; and the steep side of Coond, whose summit is capped with eternal snow, is washed by the stream before it descends with violence into the Cabul river.)

After the departure of Mokim I divided the kingdom among those Begs who had lately entered into my service. Ghazni, with its dependencies, I gave to Jehangir. The Tuman of Nangenhar, Manderaur, the Valley of Light, Dereh Kuner, Nurgil and Cheghanserai, I consigned to the charge of Nasir Mirza, my youngest brother. Those officers who had followed me in my worst distresses and most perilous enterprises I rewarded with villages and estates, but I gave no tuman or government to any one of them. It has always been my practice to provide liberally for strangers and guests, yet I

have often been charged with partiality for my own Baberians.

> What is there enemies will not say?
> The gates of a city you may shut:
> You cannot shut the mouth of an enemy.

Since many Ils and Uluses had come to me from the north, and Cabul was incapable of yielding a revenue in money adequate to maintain my troops, and yet was to be governed by the sword rather than the pen, it seemed good to levy a contribution of corn, lest the roving hordes should disperse. Therefore without knowing the amount of produce in Cabul, it was determined to issue a requisition for thirty thousand loads of grain. The country suffered by this extremely. The revenue of Cabul from settled land and wastes is eight lak of shahrokis (33,333*l.*). It was at this time that I invented a kind of writing called the Baberi hand.

The Sultan Masaudi Hazaras had been required to send a number of horses and sheep, but my collectors met with a refusal, and therefore I took the field to chastise them. We advanced by way of Meidan, and about the time of morning prayers we fell upon them suddenly, and beat them to our hearts' content. They had been guilty of depredations on the road to Ghazni.

In January, 1505, the sun being in Aquarius, after holding a council of war, I went forth to invade Hindustan. In six marches we reached Adinapoor. I had never seen the hot region before, nor any part of India. It was a new world to me. The grass, the trees, the birds, the wild animals, the manners and customs of the wandering tribes, all were strange and wonderful to me. In a few marches I passed Kheiber and encamped at Jam. Here I took a ride to visit Peshawer and the stupendous tree there. I was desirous to see Gurhkatri, where the Hindoo Yogis cut off their hair and shave their beards; but our guide brought us back without shewing us the holy place, for he was afraid to enter the gloomy caverns and dangerous recesses. There are nowhere such narrow and murky cells as in this place. I saw it in 1519. The quantity of hair both from the head and beard lying near this cave was immense.

Baki Cheghaniani, who was second to me in authority, then urged me to relinquish the design of crossing the Sinde for the sake of plundering the town of Kohat. But we found there no richer booty than oxen and buffaloes, so that Baki was ashamed of his advice. Then we held a council, and it was determined to ravage the Afghans in Banu and Bangash. Meanwhile the Afghans of Kohat took post on a detached hill

by the road-side to intercept our retreat. But we intercepted them by charging up the hill from all sides, and brought down a hundred and fifty at the first onset. The rest being in despair approached us according to their custom when they are in extremities, with grass between their teeth, to signify "we are your oxen." All that were taken alive were beheaded by my order, and at the next halting-place we erected a minaret of their skulls. We descended the hills of Bangash into Banu, which is a level country watered by the Koorum river. We stormed a field-work (sanger) occupied by the villagers of Isakhail, and brought away sheep, cattle and clothes. The Isakhail Afghans attempted in vain that same night to take us by surprise. There was a line of foot-soldiers on the watch all round the army at the distance of a bow-shot from the tents. Every night several of my Ameers went along the line with torches. I myself took one circuit, and wherever I found a man off his post I ordered his nose to be slit, and he was led through the camp for a spectacle. We next went to the villages of Desht (Daman), and our skirmishers brought off much spoil in apparel and flocks of sheep and horses. The predatory parties also fell in with some Afghan merchants, and took a quantity of white cloth, aromatic drugs, sugar, both candied and in pow-

der, and some Tipchak horses. We passed along the bank of the river Gomal in perfect ignorance of the road. The stated prayers of the Id were recited on the banks of the Gomal. I was performing the ceremonial ablutions while Jehangir and the Begs deliberated concerning the route, and before I had finished the army was in full march toward the mountains. In this year the Nouroz, the festival of the spring, very nearly fell in with the Ide-fitr (the greater Bairam, the feast after the fast of Ramzan). On this subject I composed the following ghazel:

(PERSIAN) They are blest who see the new moon and the face of their beloved at the same time:
But I, far from the countenance of my beloved, and her eyebrow, experience only sorrow.

We skirted along the Mehter Sulemani mountain to the district of Belah on the Indus. The natives took to their boats in all haste, and a few swam across the river. But several lingered on an island in the middle. Many of our troopers rode into the water all armed as they were, and found in the islet a considerable booty in furniture and clothing, while the natives escaped to the bank opposite. There a party of them began to flourish their swords in an insulting manner, trusting to the breadth of the river; upon

which Kul * Bayezid, the cupbearer, threw himself with an unarmed horse into the stream, and after swimming a bow-shot in face of them the horse took ground, and he paused as long as milk requires to boil, and then dashed forward alone towards the enemy, who let fly a few arrows and then fled. This was a noble feat of Kul Bayezid, and although I had promoted him from the office of cook to be one of my tasters, I determined to confer upon him some higher distinction. We bore away from the Sinde by the tomb of Pir Kanu, which is highly revered in Hindustan. Some of the attendants at the tomb having been wounded by my soldiers, I ordered one of the culprits to be hewn in pieces for an example. In the hill country it was impossible to obtain any green forage, and the horses began to flag. The rain fell so heavily one night that the water was knee-deep all through the camp, and I was obliged to pile up a number of carpets to recline upon. A day or two after, Jehangir Mirza came and whispered to me, "Baki Cheghaniani has been saying to me, 'We intend to send the king across the Sinde with eight or ten companions, and then place you upon the throne.'" I bade him learn who the rest of the conspirators were.

* Kul is slave.

Jehangir behaved very well in this affair. At the next halting-place our horses were quite spent with fatigue, and many of my brave partisans and officers of note were obliged to trudge it on foot to Ghazni. In a few marches we came to the salt lake of Abistadeh, "The Still Water," where there were flocks of wild geese, not ten or twenty thousand, but absolutely beyond all computation; and the eggs of other fowl were in every corner of the banks. In the month of May, 1505, we re-entered Cabul.

Nearly at this time Khosrou Shah, falling in with Badia-ez-Zeman, the rebel Prince of Khorasan, and Zulnun Arghun, the Governor of Candahar, they all went to Heri for the purpose of paying their court to Sultan Hussain Mirza, a sovereign with whom for a long time past they had been at open enmity. Badia-ez-Zeman, "the miracle of the age," was only as dough in the hands of the other two, and never deviated from their advice. His rebellion against his father, the Khakan, was mainly owing to Khadijeh Begum, the mother of Mozaffer. The remembrance of wrongs and insults was rankling in the heart of Hussain, when these men, who had been humbled by the progress of my arms, presented themselves before him. He received them all with cordiality, and made them a variety of presents. After some time Khosrou obtained

permission to leave Heri with a few hundred men to recover the dominion of Badakshan. At this very juncture, Nasir Mirza, invited by the nobles of that country, was at Dehaneh, south of Balkh. Khosrou desired to use the name of Nasir for a cover to his own design, and then to put him to death. But my brother was not to be cajoled. Khosrou then sat down before Kundez, with a disorderly rabble of about a thousand men ; these were soon put to flight by the Sultan vassals of Sheibani, and Khosrou, being too corpulent to make his escape, his head was cut off, and sent to the Uzbek Sovereign at Khwarism.

In the month of Moharrem, in the year 911, my mother, Kutluk Nigar Khanum, was seized with an eruption and a slow fever. Blood was let without effect, and a physician of Khorasan, Syed Tabib, gave her water-melons, but her hour was come and she was received into the mercy of God. On the next day we conveyed her remains to a garden formed by the late King Ulugh Beg, having obtained permission of his heirs, and there they were committed to the earth by myself and Kasim Gokultash. During the period of mourning we heard that my uncle, the younger Khan, and my grandmother, Isan Doulet Begum, were both deceased. It was near the fortieth day after the Khanum's demise, when the mother of the Khans and the

widow of Sultan Ahmed Mirza arrived from Khorasan, upon which our lamentation broke out afresh. When the period of mourning was completed, food was dressed and doled out to the poor and needy. Having directed readings of the Koran, and prayers to be offered for the souls of the departed,* the sorrows of our hearts were relieved by these testimonies of affection. My mind again turned to political enterprise, and by the advice of Baki I led an army against Candahar. In the meadow of Kush Nadir I was seized with a fever and lethargy: my expedition was also delayed by an earthquake, which overthrew many fortresses and houses. Near Pemghan the ground parted, and there was a chasm nearly a stone's throw in width, in which springs broke out and formed a large pool. During the earthquake a cloud of dust arose on the summits of hills: in some places the ground was elevated to the height of an elephant, and in others it was as much depressed. Nur-allah, the lutanist, was playing to me on the mandolin, and had another instrument with him; he caught them both up in his hands, but in spite of him they were knocked against each other. Jehangir was in the upper verandah of a palacé at Tibah: the moment the earth began to quake he threw

* Prayers for the dead are mentioned in the Life of Timour.

himself down, and escaped unhurt. On that da there were thirty-three shocks, and, for the spac of a month, the earth shook several times every day and night. After the delay occasioned by this we assailed Kilat, a town east of Candahar. Kuch Beg, the brother of Khwajeh Kilan, a man of surpassing courage, clambered up a tower on the south-west side, and received a wound in the eye, of which he died soon after. Just when the assailants were on the point of exhaustion, the garrison surrendered. The two Governors appointed by Mokim, Ferakh Arghun and Kara Bulut, came out with their bows, quivers, and scymitars hanging about their necks, and I forgave them. It was not my wish to treat the family of Arghun harshly, more especially when such an enemy as the Uzbek Khan was close at hand.

Proceeding southward, we plundered the Afghans of Alatagh, and returned to Cabul. From the time when Baki first joined me, no one had enjoyed higher estimation with me than he, and every thing was done in compliance with his advice, yet he never treated me with due respect. He was mean, envious, and of a cross temper. When he came from Termez, though he had thirty or forty thousand sheep, yet he allowed my servants to be tormented with hunger, until at last, near Kehmerd, he gave them about

fifty. Notwithstanding that he had acknowledged me as king, he caused the kettle-drums (nagarets) to be beaten before his own tent. The revenue of Kabul* arises from a temgha (a stamp-tax. All animals and goods imported into the kingdom were stamped, and a duty levied upon them). This temgha I bestowed upon him, and made him at the same time Darogha of Kabul and Penjhir: he had also the property-tax paid by the Hazaras, and was absolute master of my household. I never upbraided him with his projects of treason. He was constantly asking leave to go away, till at last, worn out with his importunity, I gave him his discharge. Then he was vexed and disconcerted: he sent to remind me that I had promised not to be severe with him before he had been guilty of nine offences. I ordered Mulla Baba to convey to him a list of eleven grievances which he owned, and thereupon departed with his family on the road to Hindostan. A leader of some Afghan and Jat banditti waylaid and slew him.

Do thou resign to Fate him who injures thee.

In January 1506, I issued from the Palace of Ulugh Beg to make a foray against the Turcoman Hazaras, who had been guilty of insolence and many depredations. Sheikh Dervish

* *i. e.* of the city.

Gokultash, the armour-bearer, was killed in the valley of Khesh, by an arrow shot from a cave. In the afternoon we halted in that valley, and one of the party finding a fat camel, it was killed, and we ate the flesh part roasted and part sun-dried: I never met with camel's flesh of so fine a flavour. The Hazaras raised a defence of the branches of trees on the opposite bank of a river, but their flank was turned by Kasim Beg, and they were driven away with some slaughter. For this service I bestowed the district of Bangash on Kasim. We spent the night in the huts which the Hazaras had constructed for their winter residence. Thence we proceed to collect the revenue of Nijrow. On the 7th of February I was attacked with lumbago, which made me unable to move for forty days, and I was conveyed in a litter to the palace at Cabul.

In that year the prediction of Baki was fulfilled. Yusef, on whom I had bestowed the Tuman of Alenghar, and Behlol, to whom I gave Alisheng, the two sons of Ayub, who were boon companions of Nasir Mirza, succeeded in alienating Jehangir from me. He put on his mail, and went off in haste towards Ghazni. Having captured the town of Kila Baki, he slew several persons and plundered the place completely. Almighty God knows that neither from me nor any person dependent on me did he receive any

provocation to such deeds of violence. Scarcely had he departed when Sultan Hussain summoned all his sons, and sent Syed Afzel for the purpose of calling me to co-operate with him against Muhammed Sheibani. The Khan had lately gained possession of Khwarism after a siege of ten months, in which Hussain the governor, and his garrison, signally displayed their courage: they shot arrows with so much force that both shield and mail, and often the double cuirass, were pierced by them. May the blessing of God rest on Hussain Sufi, who never shrank from exposing his life at the call of duty, and was slain in the last assault.

At that time, Jehangir being in arms against me, I was glad to combine with so potent a monarch as Sultan Hussain Mirza. In the month of May he advanced to Baba Ilahi, where he was called to the mercy of God. His body was conveyed in royal state to Herat, and was buried in his own college.

He was born in that city, the fifth in descent from Amir Taimur, in the year 1438. His father was Mansur Mirza, and his mother was Firozeh Begum, "the Turquoise Princess," a grand daughter of Taimur. His elder brother, Baikra Mirza, was content to serve under him, but never attended upon him at the Diwan. Hussain assigned to him the government of Balkh,

Sultan Hussain had straight, narrow eyes; his body was robust, like that of a lion. On his accession he determined that the names of the twelve Imams should be read in the Khutbeh, according to the Shia faith; but, afterwards, all was regulated in the orthodox manner. He was a lively, pleasant man; but rather hasty in his temper and language. In more than one instance he shewed a profound reverence for the faith: one of his sons having slain a man, he delivered him to the avengers of blood to be tried before the Kazi. For several years he abstained rigidly from the prohibited meats. He composed a Diwân in the Toorki language; many of his verses are pretty good, but the poem is all in one measure. He was a valiant man. No prince of the house of Taimur ever rivalled him in the use of the scymitar. He won several victories sword in hand; in one of his early battles he slew nine men. His chief exploit was the surprise of Yadgar Muhammed Mirza, who was lying intoxicated in the Raven Garden at Herat: by that success he became master of Khorasan, and then he resigned himself to wassail and debauchery. During the forty years of his reign at Herat he drank wine every day after mid-day prayers. His sons, and all the soldiery and the citizens, followed his example, and seemed to vie with

each other in rioting and lascivious revelry. In his latter days even when his beard became white, he wore gay woollen clothes of a red and green colour; on festival days he put on a showy turban with a nodding plume, and in that style went to prayers. Notwithstanding his age and royal dignity, he amused himself with pigeons and cock-fighting, and was fond as any child of keeping rams to butt against each other. The cares of ambition and the toils of military discipline were laid aside, and, in consequence, his power declined down to the time of his death. Of his numerous family there was no remnant left in a few years; except Zeman Mirza his grandson, who came with me into India.

His first wife was Begah Sultan, a princess of Merv, by whom he had Badia ez Zeman. She was cross, and fretted him beyond endurance, until at last he divorced her. What else could he do?

> A bad wife in the house of a good man
> Makes a hell upon earth. (PERSIAN.)

May the Almighty avert such a visitation from every good Moslem. Another wife was Khadijeh Begum, the mother of Mozaffer "the Victorious." He was so passionately fond of her that she had entire control over him. She was heretical in

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her opinions, and it was chiefly owing to her machinations that his sons rebelled against him.

His eldest daughter was Sultanim Begum, a very eloquent and ingenious lady, but her remarks in conversation were frequently rude and ill-timed.

His son, Feridoon, was a famous archer. They say, that his double-stringed bow required forty mauns' weight to make the ears meet.* The Uzbeks put him to death at Kilat. (Sultan Hussain was renowned for his patronage of learned men. In his College and Khanekah at Heri, there were twenty professors, all maintained by him on liberal endowments. The fame of his munificence to every kind of merit drew adventurers from all the neighbouring kingdoms.)

The most eminent of his Ameers was Berenduk Birles, a very discreet man. He was so fond of his hawks, that, when he heard of one being lost or dead, he would say that the death of a son was nothing in comparison. He was the chief counsellor of Mozaffer Mirza.

Another was Mozaffer Birlas, whom he loaded with favours. They were so familiar together, that, in the first campaign of Hussain, it was agreed between them, that whatever country

* If the Tabriz maun, it would be 290 lb.—W. E.

might be conquered, four parts of it should belong to the Mirza and two to Birlas. How could such an agreement stand? It could never answer even with his own brother or son. Hussain became ashamed of this arrangement, but to no purpose; Mozaffer presumed very much upon his friendship, and behaved factiously: the Sultan is said to have poisoned him.

Another was Ali Shir, who was more his friend than his Ameer; in their youth they had been intimate with each other at school. Ali Shir was admired for the elegance of his demeanour, which some ascribed to the conscious pride of high fortune; but that refinement was natural to him. Indeed, he was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Toorki language, no man has written so much and so well; he composed four odes, "The Singularities of Infancy," "The Wonders of Youth," "The Marvels of Manhood," and "The Benefits of Age." He also wrote a treatise on Prosody, which is very incorrect. His Persian verses are for the most part heavy and poor. He has left some excellent pieces of music. There is not upon record a greater patron of talent than Ali Shir. At first he was keeper of the signet; in his middle age he held the government of Asterabad. He afterwards renounced the profession of arms, and, instead of receiving any thing from the

Mirza, he made him an annual present of money. He passed through life single and unincumbered.

Another was Zulnun Arghun, who claimed descent from Zinghis Khan. He was a man of great mettle, but rather weak in understanding. In 1483 he became governor of Zemin Dawer; no one ever kept the Hazaras and Nukderis in such order; he subdued them by his desperate valour, and then conciliated them by his mild administration. In reward for his services Hussain gave him Kandahar, to be held jointly with his son Shuja Arghun. Zulnun was the prime adviser of Badia ez Zeman.

The Amir Syed Beder was a man of great strength, and very sweet manners. He was skilled in the arts of refinement, and danced in excellent style, exhibiting dances of an uncommon sort, of which he was himself the inventor. He was a companion of the Mirza in his wine-parties.

The Ameer Bedereddin was a very alert and nimble man; it is said that he could leap over seven horses at once. He was an intimate friend of Baba Ali, the master of the ceremonies.

The grand falconer was Hassan Ali Jelair, an extravagant, shameless man. He was the most eminent man of his time for writing Kasidehs.

Khwajeh Abdalla Marwarid was at first the ecclesiastical judge, but subsequently embraced

the military life, and was raised to the dignity of Beg. No man could rival him in playing on the dulcimer. He was well versed in the art of writing letters. He was a poet, and a very pleasant companion. Owing to sensual excesses he was attacked with boils all over his body, and, after the endurance of severe pain for several years, he was brought to his end by that disease.

The Ameer Syed Uroos was a young man noted for courage. His bow was stiff, the arrow long, the range far, and his aim was sure. He held the government of Andehkend.

Another of the nobles was Dervish Ali Beg, a buffoon and silly man.

Another was Syed Hussain, who was well acquainted with astronomy. He was rather given to wine, and was riotous in his cups.

(The general character of the Persians is that softness, love of pleasure, indolence, and effeminacy, which have made them an easy prey to the western and northern warriors. In the intervals of peace, they constantly sink into inactivity and pass their lives in a pleasurable yet studious retirement: this is one cause that Persia has produced so many poets. There is a manuscript at Oxford containing the lives of a hundred and thirty-five of the finest Persian poets, most of whom left an ample collection of poems

behind them. The delicacy of their lives and sentiments has insensibly affected the language, and rendered it the softest, as it is one of the richest in the world.—Sir W. JONES.)

In the age of Hussain, the kingdom of Khorasan abounded with men of unrivalled talents, each of whom made it his pride to carry his own art to perfection. Among the fourteen poets who adorned the court of Heri, the most illustrious, both in profane and sacred science, was Moulâna Abdal Rahman Jâmi.* His merits are of too exalted a nature to be described by me. He is not only admired for his poetry, but venerated for the sanctity of his life. When I visited Khorasan, I circumambulated his shrine.

The most eminent painter was Behzad. Among the musicians, I ought not to omit Kul Muhammed Udi, who added three strings to the guitar, and could perform on the lute with fine taste; but he used to give himself many airs when he was desired to play. On one occasion he brought a bad instrument with him to a party where Sheibani Khan requested to hear him, and after giving much trouble, he made a very indifferent performance. The Khan, at that very entertainment ordered him to receive a number of blows on the neck. This was one

* Born at Jam. There are twenty-two volumes of his poems at Oxford.

good deed that Sheibani did in his day. Another peerless man was Pehlewan Busaid: he was a poet, and a composer of music. No man was a match for him in wrestling.

Another man of superlative talent was Mir Hussain, the Enigmatist. His conundrums and riddles were beyond all competition. His whole time was spent in devising them. He was a humble, unpretending man.

Another was the Mullah zadeh Mulla Osman, born in a Tuman of Cabul. He began to give instructions at the age of fourteen. He surpassed all men in the extent of his knowledge. Many affirmed that he had attained the degree of Ijtehad, but he never pretended to it. (It was a rank not bestowed by human authority, but the slow result of thought finally prevailing and universally acknowledged. The Mujtehid was regarded in Persia as elevated above human fears and enjoyments, and to have a certain degree of infallibility and inspiration. He was consulted with awe and reverence.—W. E.)*

* The office of Sudder al Suddoor, the Supreme Pontiff, was abolished by Nadir Shah. Since that time the Mooshteheds have become the highest order of Priests. There are seldom more than three or four of this dignity. They are called to office by the silent but unanimous choice of their fellow-citizens on account of their superior erudition and piety. Their chief duty being to shield the people from

There were many beautiful penmen, but the person who excelled all others in the Nastalik character was Sultan Ali Meshidi. Every day he copied thirty couplets for the Mirza, and twenty for Ali Shir. Moulana Sheikh Hussain was a man profound in philosophy, logic, rhetoric, and metaphysics. He had the faculty of extracting a great deal of meaning from a very few words, and of commenting upon them with exceeding subtlety. No one ever discharged the office of Mohtesib,* *i. e.* Public Censor of Morals and Superintendant of Markets, with more ability. In the time of Sultan Abusaid he was consulted by that prince on all affairs of state. As for the heads of the Sedder (Supreme Court of Justice) there was "the bareheaded Mir," who affected to be a Syed. He wasted his life in composing a long-winded improbable tale.

Another was Kemaled din, who made a show of being a Sufi. He was one of a number who pretended to raptures and ecstasies, and made more progress than any in those mystical fancies. It was he that made a dupe of Zulnun Arghun.

the oppression of their rulers, naturally precludes any connection with the king. The Sheikh ul Islam, or Ruler of the Faith, who is inferior to the Mooshtcheds in rank, is the Supreme Judge of the written law.—PERSIA: Edin. Cab. Lib. p. 351.

* The Mohtesib was a person to whom the jovial Poets of Persia allude as an object of terror.

Seif ed din Ahmed, the Sheikh ul Islam,* was descended from a family which in several generations held that office. He was deeply skilled in Arabian science (*i. e.* grammar, rhetoric, &c.), and the sciences connected with theology. He was a man of very great piety. Though he belonged to the sect of Shafi, he was kind to persons of every persuasion. It is said that for nearly seventy years he never omitted the appointed prayers in public worship. He was the last of his family.

Of the Vazirs the most notable was Majd ed din. Before his time the people were subject to heavy exactions, and the soldiers were not satisfied. One day the Mirza being in want of money sent for the officers of revenue, who told him there was none to be obtained, at which Majd ed Sin smiled, and Hussain perceiving his thought consulted him in private. Majd ed Sin said to him, "If your Majesty will give me the entire administration of the finances, I will undertake to make your subjects comfortable, the army satisfied, and the treasury full. All this he accomplished, and made the country prosper in a high degree. But Ali Shir and the Ameers in his interest prevailed upon Hussain to dismiss

* The Sedder is now superseded in Persia by the Sheikh ul Islam.—W. E.

him. Nizam ul Mulk was made Diwân in his place, and in a short time he in his turn was put to death, and the seal of the Diwan was given to Khwajeh Afzal.*

On the decease of Hussain Mirza, Badia ez Zeman and Mozaffer were the only princes at court. Mozaffer being his favourite son, and his tutor Berenduk Birlas being the minister in chief credit at Heri, besides that Khadijeh Begum his mother was the most beloved wife of Hussain, the citizens began to gather round him in preference to Badia ez Zeman. Zulnun Arghun, however, and Berenduk, consulting with the other Ameers, resolved to place both princes upon the throne. Zulnun was prime minister at the court of Badia ez Zeman, and Berenduk at the court of Mozaffer. Each king appointed a Darogha of the city. This was a strange arrangement.

Ten Dervishes may sit on one carpet;
But the same climate will not hold two Kings.

1506.† I was in the valley of Kehmerd, on

* Baber, in this list of the eminent men at Heri, has omitted Mirkhond, the celebrated historian. He does not mention any physician, nor in the rest of his narrative does he ever speak of one as being a person of any consideration.

† In 1506 the Khanate of Kipchak ceased, and the country was divided. The tribes at that time driven away from home probably aided the Uzbeks in their conquest of Maweralnahar.—W. E.

my way to Khorasan, when the death of Hussain was reported to me. Nevertheless I marched onward. The Mirzas of Heri invited all their brothers to unite in an expedition against Sheibani, then engaged in the siege of Balkh, and sent to ask my assistance. I had marched eight hundred miles for that very purpose. On the sixth of November I went to their camp on the Murghab, and was led into the presence of Badia ez Zeman. It had been arranged that on entering the hall of audience I was to bow, and the Sultan should advance and embrace me: but he was rather slow in coming forward, and Kasim Beg, my prime minister, who was jealous for my honour, laid hold of my girdle: I understood him, and proceeded more deliberately till we embraced at the appointed spot at the edge of the elevated platform. In that royal tent broad cushions were set in four places, and two princes sate upon each of them. Lower down were the three prime ministers, Zulnun, Berenduk, and Kasim Beg. Although it was not a drinking party, wine and goblets of silver and gold were placed beside the food. My family and forefathers have always observed sacredly the rules of Chengiz Khan. In their courts and festivals, in sitting down and rising up, they never deviate from his regulations. Yet they possess no divine authority. Every man who has a good rule of

conduct ought to follow it. If the father has done what is wrong, the son ought to change it for what is right. The second time that I visited Badia ez Zeman, he was less respectful to me. Therefore I sent for Zulnun and Berenduk, and desired them to let the Mirza know that although but young I was of high extraction; that I had twice gained by arms my paternal kingdom of Samarcand; and that after all I had achieved against the enemy of our house, to treat me with any want of ceremony was not commendable. After that message was delivered to him he shewed me every mark of regard and good-will. The Mirzas wasted three or four months in marching from Heri to the Murghab. They were accomplished in the arts of mirth and conviviality, but had neither skill nor hardihood in war. The city of Balkh capitulated to Sheibani before their arrival, and when the Uzbeks retreated through fear of the combined armies, it was time to go into winter quarters. The Mirzas prevailed upon me against my better judgment to spend the season with them at Heri. The kingdom of Cabul was far from being in a settled state, but I had a strong desire to see the metropolis of Khorasan, and when the Mirzas came on horseback to my quarters on purpose to ask me, I could not refuse. When I arrived at Heri Payendeh Begum my father's sister, Khadijeh,

Apak, and the other daughters of Abusaïd, were met in the college of Sultan Hussain. I first saluted and embraced Payendeh Begum: then I made an obeisance and embraced Apak Begum, and lastly Khadijeh Begum. I sate some time while the Koran was read, and spent the night at the house of Payendeh Begum. Every two or three days I went to the World-adorning Garden to perform the kornish to Badia ez Zeman, as supreme Prince of the House of Timour. Soon after my arrival I was invited to dine with Mozaffer in the White Garden. After dinner Khadijeh Begum carried him and me to the palace of Terebkhena, "the Pleasure House," a delightful edifice in which there were paintings representing the battles of Abusaid Mirza. Mozaffer placed me above himself, I being his guest, and he having filled a glass of welcome, the cupbearers began to supply all the party with unmixed wine, which they quaffed as if it had been the water of life. As the spirit mounted into their heads they took a fancy to make me drink with them. Till that time I had never been guilty of drinking wine. Whenever my father asked me I made an excuse. After his death, by the guardian care of the reverend Khwajeh Kazi, I remained pure and undefiled. I was ignorant of the sensations which wine produces, yet I had a lurking inclination for it: and being

then in the refined city of Heri, I thought it was the time to regale myself, and therefore, when they pressed me to drink, I was on the point of complying; but it occurred to me that, since I had refused wine from the hand of Badia ez Zeman, the elder brother, he might take umbrage. In consequence it was agreed that I should take wine the next time we met at the palace of the Sultan. At that same entertainment several musicians were present: Jebal eddin the flute-player, and Shadi, who performed on the harp. Hafer Haji sang very well. The people of Heri sing in a low, delicate, and equable style. There was a singer belonging to the company of Jehangir, a man who always sang out of tune with a loud harsh voice. Jehangir, who was rather deep in liquor, proposed that this man should sing. The people of Khorasan all value themselves on their politeness, but when they heard his rough accent many turned away their ears, others knit their brows, yet out of respect for the Mirza no one ventured to stop him.

Kasim Beg hearing that I had been urged to drink wine remonstrated with Zulnun Beg, and he reprimanded the Mirzas severely, so that they did not press me again on the subject. My courtiers were bound by my example not to drink wine. If they desired to indulge at any time, perhaps once in a month or forty days,

they used to shut their doors and sit down to drink in great apprehension of being discovered. Badia ez Zeman hearing of the banquet given by Mozaffer, sent an invitation to me and to several nobles of my retinue. On that occasion when by any chance I appeared to be inattentive, they would hide the goblets in their hands and take a draught in a hurry, although there was no necessity for such caution, since it was allowable at an entertainment for every one to follow the common usage. There was a roast goose set before me, which I left untouched, not knowing how to carve it. The Mirza asked me if I did not like it, upon which I told him my reason for not partaking of it: and he immediately cut up the goose into thin slices for me. No man was superior to him in attentions of this kind. At the end of the feast he presented me with an enamelled dagger, a kerchief of golden cloth, and a Tipchak horse. During my sojourn of twenty days at Heri I saw every thing worthy of notice except the Khanekah or convent of Hussain Mirza. There was the Bleaching Ground, the Paper Mills, the Park, the Fish-pond, the College of Guher-shad-begum, her Tomb, and her Grand Mosque, the Raven Garden, the Warrior's Seat, the Kiosk and Mansion of Enjoyment, the Lily Palace, the Twelve Towers, the Irak Gate, and the Kipchak Gate,

the College of Badia ez Zeman, the Mosque of Ali Shir, his College and Convent, which is called the Pure, and his Baths and Hospital. In December I began my homeward journey to Cabul, 1506. In a few marches we saw the moon of Ramzan. When we came near Chekhcheran* it snowed incessantly; and in a few days the snow lay so deep on the ground that we sunk below the stirrup; we lost our way, and it was proposed to avoid the hills and go round by Candahar. But Kasim Beg was obstinately set upon the shorter route, and we proceeded. In the few subsequent days we endured hardships more than I have undergone at any other period of my life. Our guide was unable to point out the road, therefore placing our reliance on God we endeavoured to find our own way. For about a week we continued to press down the snow without advancing three miles. Ten or fifteen worked together, and trampled it down though it was breast high. At last we brought a horse to the work, and when he was tired another and another in succession. By this means in a few days we reached a cave at the foot of the Zirrin pass. On that day the storm was dreadful. The snow fell so thick that we all expected to meet death. Every man was obliged to dismount and halt

* Chekhcheran lies about 34° 12′ N. lat.; 66° 8′ E. long.

where he happened to be. I took a hoe, and having cleared away the snow, made a resting-place at the mouth of the cave about the size of a prayer-carpet. Some urged me to go into the cavern, but I thought that I ought not to be in shelter and lie down at ease while my men were in misery shivering in the drift. Whatever extremities they endured, I ought to bear a share with them. There is a Persian proverb, "Death in the company of friends is a feast." Therefore I continued to sit in the wind and snow until bed-time prayers, when it was found that there was room enough in the cave for all our company. We passed the night there in comfort. On the morrow the snow ceased to fall, but the cold was so piercing as we passed along the defile that many lost their hands and feet. It was not in the recollection of the oldest man that this kotul had been descended when the snow lay so deep. Nevertheless if there had been less depth of snow, how should we in our ignorance of the road have been able to march as we did over precipices and ravines?

(Persian) Every good and evil that exists
If you mark it well is for a blessing.

The people of Yeke Auleng, who had heard of our descent through the hills, conveyed us to their warm houses, and brought out their fat

sheep for us, with plenty of hay and grain for our horses. Those only who have borne such grievous distress can imagine our enjoyment in this village. We remained one day to recruit our strength. The next morning was the Id of the Ramzan (Feb. 1507). The Turkoman Hazaras were in winter quarters on my line of march, quite ignorant of our approach. When we began to plunder the village and sheep folds, they fled away to the hills with their children. Soon after this it was reported to me from the vanguard that a body of them had filled up the Pass, and were assailing our men from an eminence.

(Toorki Verse)

I came up and hastened to the spot,
And pressing on exclaimed, Stand, stand!
Having brought on the men, I placed myself behind;
When not one of them obeyed my orders.
I had neither coat of mail, nor horse mail.
Nor any arms except my bow and arrows.
When I stood still my men stood also,
As if the foe had slain them all.
He who hires a servant hires him for his need;
Not that he should stand still when his lord advances.
At length I spurred my horse and went forward,
Driving the foe before me, and ascended the hill.
My men seeing me advance advanced also.
We gained the summit and drove the Hazaras before us.
We skipped over the heights and hollows like deer.
We slew the Turkoman Hazaras,
And made captives of their wives and children.

About fifteen of the most noted robbers among them fell into our hands. It was my intention to put them to death with torture, by way of a warning to all rebels; but Kasim Beg happening to meet them was filled with ill-timed commiseration, and let them escape. The rest of the prisoners were also set free.

> To do good to the bad is the same thing
> As to do evil to the good.
> Salt ground does not produce spikenard:
> Do not throw away good seed upon it.

At this point information came that Mirza Doghlet and Senjer Birlas having drawn the Moguls over to their interest, had declared Weis Mirza king. He was the son of my uncle Mahmud, the Sultan of Hissar. They laid siege to Cabul, and spread a report that the Mirzas of Khorasan had imprisoned me in the Eagle Castle near Heri. Khalifeh and my other faithful Ameers in Cabul concerted fire signals with me, and thus we were enabled to surprise the insurgents by a simultaneous onset. Weis Mirza mounted his horse and rode off. I wore a quilted waistcoat, but had no plate armour nor helmet. Close to the gate of the Charbagh Dost Sirpuli, whom I had appointed to be Intendant of Police (Kotwal), rushed at me, and

let fall a blow with his sword on my undefended arm, but it was not at all hurt.

> However the sword of man may strike,
> It injures not a vein without the will of God.

I had repeated a prayer, and it was owing to this that Almighty God averted the danger. Thence we passed to the Garden of Heaven, where Muhammed Doghlet, formerly Governor of Uratippa, held his residence. He had made his escape, and hidden himself. While I was at that palace, Senjer Birlas, to whom I had given the Tuman of Nangenhar, was dragged before me with a rope round his neck. He was in terrible agitation, and cried out, "What fault have I done?" I replied, "Is there a greater crime than for a man of note like you to join with rebels?" Nevertheless I spared his life, because the Shah Begum, mother of Mahmud Khan, was his sister's daughter. (The Shah Begum was widow of Yunis Khan, and grandmother to Baber and to Weis Mirza.) She and the Khanim dwelt very near the Garden of Heaven, and were then sitting together in the same house. I alighted and saluted them with due respect and ceremony. They were out of all measure confounded and ashamed. They could neither stammer out an excuse, nor make any polite

inquiries. There is no doubt that the conspiracy had been abetted by them. When the Shah Begum came to live with me, I bestowed upon her Pemghan, one of the most desirable places in Cabul, and every one of her connexions was received by me as a cousin. But in the former period of my distress, when I fled to them with my mother for protection, we experienced no sort of kindness, although Weis Mirza and his mother, Sultan Nigar Khanum, were in possession of rich lands, while I and my mother had not a single village, nor even a few poultry. I sent Ahmed Kasim in pursuit of Weis Mirza, and the Prince was captured among the hillocks of Kurghe Yelak. He was led into the Hall of Audience in a state of extreme terror, so that he fell twice before he made his salutation to me. I said to him, "Come, and embrace me," and I placed him on the seat by my side. Sherbet was brought in, and to give him confidence I drank of it myself and then handed it to him. In a few days he was allowed to go away to Khorasan. Muhammed Hussain Doghlet after his escape from the Garden of Paradise took refuge in the Khanum's wardrobe, and hid himself among the carpets. Miram Diwaneh and some others were sent to find him out, and they conducted him to me in the citadel. I treated him with the usual degree of respect. I rose

when he came in, and showed no severity in my demeanour. As we were related to each other, he having sons and daughters by my aunt, I took that circumstance into consideration, and gave him liberty to depart for Khorasan. Yet this ungrateful man, this coward, whom I had treated with such lenity, went and maligned me to Sheibani Khan. It was not long before the Khan avenged me by putting him to death.

After the departure of Khan Mirza, my younger brother,* I made a circuit through Baran, Chastubeh, and the lowland of Gulbehâr. The verdure of that region is superior to all the rest of Cabul. We counted thirty-four kinds of tulip there. I wrote some verses in this tour:

(Toorki) The flowers of Cabul render it a heaven in spring;
But above all the spring of Bârân and of Gulbehâr is enchanting.

Indeed there are few places worthy to be compared with these in the spring, either for beauty of prospect or for the amusement of hawking.

1507. In that year the Ameers of Badakshan, being offended with Nasir Mirza and his favorites, rose in rebellion, and having assembled an army in the plain by the river Kokcheh, ad-

* *i. e.* Weis Mirza. Cousins are called brothers in the East.

vanced into the low hills near Kemchan. In that unbroken ground, Nasir Mirza gave them battle. They had a numerous infantry, which stood firm against several charges of his cavalry, and in their turn made so spirited an attack, that his men were unable to keep their ground and rode away. The soldiers of Badakshan rifled the property of all his adherents, and he fled by way of Narin to Abdereh. Thence he descended by the defile of Shibertu, and returned to Cabul with a few naked and hungry followers. It was two or three years since he had induced the Ils and Uluses to march off in revolt with him to Badakshan, and now he came back in shame and distraction of mind. I did not show him the least symptom of displeasure, but made every effort to relieve his disquietude and embarrassment.

In the summer I left Cabul for the purpose of beating up the quarters of the Ghiljis, south of Ghazni. We crossed the plain of Kattewaz in a dark night, where there was no trace of a road. I had passed that way before, and trusting to my recollection of the country I rode onward, keeping the pole-star on my right. Almighty God was propitious, and we came directly toward the camp of the Ghiljis. After resting for an hour we started in the morning, and seeing a blackness above the horizon, which might be smoke,

or caused by a movement of the enemy, all the young and inexperienced men set forward at full speed. I followed them for three miles, shooting arrows at their horses, and at length brought them to a check. When five or six thousand men ride on a marauding expedition, it is difficult to maintain discipline. We routed the Ghiljis, and took a vast number of sheep. Some of my Begs were directed to separate a fifth of the spoil for me, except that Kasim Beg and some others, as a special mark of favour, were allowed to keep all their booty. The fifth of the sheep was returned to be 16,000, so that, after allowing for losses, and the shares not demanded, the whole must have amounted to 100,000. On the next day we formed the hunting circle, and killed several deer and wild asses in the plain of Kattehwaz. From this raid I returned to Cabul.

In the spring, Sheibani had concentrated his forces at Samarcand, with a view to the conquest of Khorasan. Badia ez Zeman and Mozaffer, with their prime ministers, were lying with their army in the vicinity of Baba Kaki. They had not made up their minds to fight, nor had they put their fort in a state of defence. They were all in disorder, panic-struck, and irresolute. Berenduk proposed that Mozaffer and he should fortify themselves in Heri, while Badia ez Zeman

and Zulnun called to their aid the power of Sistan, Kandahar, and Zemindawer. Zulnun Arghun paid no regard to this advice. He was a brave soldier, who had acquitted himself with distinction in every engagement, but he had no talent for command, and was the dupe of flattering impostors. While he was prime minister at Heri, a company of Sheikhs and Mullas came and told him that in their intercourse with the spheres they had discovered a divine decree that he should be called "the Lion of God," and that he should vanquish the Uzbeks. Relying on this assurance he made no preparation for the campaign. He hung the prediction about his neck, and returned thanks to God: he neither exercised the troops, nor kept any discipline, nor set watchmen in advance of the army; so that when Sheibani passed the Murghab in June, the Mirzas were unable to muster their forces: every man was gone to shift for himself. But Zulnun, with the prophecy at his collar, infatuated by adulation, set himself with only a hundred and fifty men at Kara Rebat to withstand fifty thousand Uzbeks. His troop was swept away in an instant, and the enemy in a very summary manner severed his head from his body. The mother, sister, harem and treasure of the Mirzas, were in the Eagle Castle,* on the north side of

* Aleh Kurghân.

Heri. The two princes reached the city late in the evening, and fled away at dawn, without taking any measures for the removal of the princesses and their children, or putting the castle into a state of security.* The troops that were to be the garrison did not arrive in time, but a few Ameers threw themselves into the castle, and maintained it against Sheibani for sixteen days, until a tower was demolished by the explosion of a mine, and then they surrendered. Long before this, the Sheikh ul Islam, attended by the chief citizens, having made a capitulation, delivered the keys of Herat to the Uzbek Khan. Sheibani behaved very ill to the ladies and children, and, indeed, to every one else. He gave Khadijeh Begum to the wretch Shah Mansur, to be plundered and treated as a slave. He assigned to the Mogul Abdul the reverend saint Sheikh Puran, to be rifled. The poets and authors were all consigned to the mercies of Mulla Binai.

In spite of his extreme ignorance, the Khan had the vanity to deliver lectures on the Koran before the most eminent Mullas of Khorasan.

* Badia ez Zeman took refuge with Shah Ismael Sufevi, King of Persia, who gave him Tabriz. Selim took that place in 1514, and carried him prisoner to Constantinople, where he died in 1517. His son, Muhammed Zeman, was in India with Baber.

He also took a pen and corrected the writing and drawings of Mulla Sultan Ali and of Behzad the painter. Whenever he happened to have composed one of his dull couplets, he read it from the pulpit, hung it up in the Market Place, and levied a benevolence from the inhabitants on the joyful occasion. About a fortnight after the capture of Heri, Abul Mirza and Kepek Mirza, two sons of Sultan Hussain, were lying quite off their guard at Meshed, and while they were devising a plan for avoiding the Uzbek army and falling on Sheibani by surprise, his general Taimur Sultan took them by surprise, and their army was speedily overthrown. The Khan received their heads at the bridge of Salar.

At that time, Shah Beg and Mokim the sons of Zulnun, who were governors of Candahar and Zemindawer, alarmed at the progress of Sheibani, sent me humble letters to express their attachment, and Mokim in particular implored my succour. Having consulted the Ameers, I went from Cabul through Kilat with two thousand men, and sent them notice of my advance; whereupon their minds were changed, and I received a discourteous answer (They had made terms with Sheibani, and therefore did not require his assistance). One piece of rudeness was this, that the seal of their letter was set where an Ameer of high rank impresses it when writing

to an inferior Ameer. When we reached Kilat the soldiers came suddenly upon some Indian merchants. The general opinion was that in such a period of confusion, it was fair to plunder all who came from a foreign country. But I asked, "What offence have these merchants committed? If we suffer these trifling things to escape, the Almighty will one day give us great benefits in return." Therefore, I only levied something from each merchant by way of peshkesh. Near Kilat I was joined by Weis Mirza, and by Abdal Rizak the son of Ulugh Beg. We marched against the sons of Zulnun by the rivulets which flow toward Kandahar. My army at the outset was about 2000 strong, but so many through want of food had gone off to collect sheep and bullocks, that when the enemy appeared in right form of war to the number of four or five thousand men in armour, there were not above a thousand left with me. But they were all in excellent discipline. The centre, and wings, and flanking parties all knew how they were to engage. On my right were posted Weis Mirza and Syed Moghul; on the left was Abdal Rizak, Kasim, and Nasir Mirza. In the centre there was Kasim Gokultash, Mahmud the Secretary, Kul Bayezid the Taster, Kemal the Cupbearer, Wali the Treasurer, and Baba Sheikh. When we came within a

bow-shot of the enemy, they charged my van and drove it back on the main body. Several streams were between them and my left wing, so that in spite of their superior number they could not turn that flank. Almighty God directed every thing to a happy issue. The sons of Zulnun were worsted, and their line of retreat to Candahar was cut off, so that I entered that city without any opposition. Immediately I seized the treasury of Mokim and that of Shah Beg. To Nasir Mirza I gave the Minister of Finance to be rifled, and Sheikh Abusaid Terkhan was allotted to Weis Mirza to be laid under contribution. So great a quantity of silver was never seen before in these countries. After the treasure was secured, and the beasts of burthen were carrying it to the citadel, my brother Nasir seized a string* of mules laden with silver. I did not require him to give them back. When I returned in the evening to the camp, it was quite an altered scene. There were Tipchak horses, long-haired she camels bearing portmanteaus, and tents, and awnings of velvet and purple; male and female camels, and mules laden with silk and linen: bales of cloth were piled on each other in every storehouse, and jars upon jars of silver money. Kasim Beg, a

* Five or seven.

man of keen foresight, urged me not to prolong my stay at Candahar; therefore I bestowed it upon Nasir Mirza, and started for Cabul. At Karabagh we found time to divide the treasure. Many of the officers received 7 cwt. of silver money,* with which they loaded their beasts as with forage, and we made our entrance into Cabul with much wealth and booty, and great reputation.†‡ On my arrival I married Maasumeh Sultan Begum, the youngest daughter of Ahmed Mirza. In my visit to Heri one day, when I called upon Paiendeh Begum, she came in with her mother, and became enamoured of me at first sight. She employed persons to

* Zulnun Arghun and his sons had been successful warriors, and the plunder accumulated in the capital was proportionably rich.

† Men will praise thee when thou doest well unto thyself. Ps. xlix. 18.

‡ Among the ladies of the Arghun family, who were taken captive at Candahar, was Mah Begum, a daughter of Mokim. Baber gave her in marriage to Kasim Gokaltash, and she had by him a daughter who became celebrated in Sind. The marriage was regarded by the Arghuns as a deep dishonour, and they devised a scheme for her escape from Cabul. She went to the public bath, and returning from it mingled with the crowd that was coming away from the afternoon service at the Mosques. Her face was hidden all but her eyes, after the manner of Moslem ladies. She met some of the chief nobles of Kandahar at an appointed spot, and they rode away in great delight to her native country. Her daughter being only eighteen months old, was left in Cabul.

communicate her feelings to my friend Paiendeh and to her mother. After some conversation between me and the elder ladies, it was agreed that they should come to Cabul.

A few days after the wedding, the servants of Nasir brought intelligence that Sheibani was blockading Candahar. It was the expectation of this that made Kasim so urgent for my departure.

> What the young man sees in a mirror,
> The sage can discern in a baked brick.

The Begs were summoned to a council, and seeing that I was alone in Cabul with a small army, while the Uzbeks and other enemies were gathering around me, it seemed good to invade Hindustan. Accordingly we set out by the way of Little Cabul. In September (1507) the citadel of Candahar was on the point of falling to Sheibani, when the danger of his haram at Nirehtu called him away in haste. Before he went Nasir agreed to surrender the fort, and it was given by Sheibani to the Arghuns. When the alarm of an Uzbek invasion had passed away, we gave up the design of entering Hindostan, and returned to Cabul. Till that time the family of Taimur Beg had never assumed a higher title, even upon the throne, than that of Mirza. I

then issued an order that men should call me Pâdshâh, "emperor."* In the following March (1508), on the birth of my first son, Humaioon, I spent several days at the Charbagh, to celebrate the festival of his nativity. My Begs and other persons brought their offerings to me there. Bags of silver money were heaped up. I never saw so much white money in one place. It was a very splendid feast. Soon after this the men of Hissar and Kundez, and the Moguls of superior rank, who had been under Khosrou, with some of the Jaghatai and Turcomans, in all amounting to two or three thousand, conspired against me. Some hints of the plot were given to me, but I disregarded them. One night I was sitting in the presence-chamber after bed-time prayers, when Mirza Khwajeh came and whispered in a hurry that the Moguls† were on the point of rising. I could not believe that their treasonable purpose would be executed that very night, and I went away to the haram. When I approached it, all my followers, and even my night-guards, forsook me. I went on to the city, attended only by my servants and

* Baber was then the chief Prince of the house of Taimur.

† Baber had kept good discipline in his army, and punished some of the Moguls severely for plundering.

the royal slaves. I had reached the ditch at the Iron Gate, when Khwajeh Muhammed Ali met me, and ——.

Here the narrative is broken off abruptly in all the copies extant.

The blank in the royal memoir can only be imperfectly filled up by gleaning information from various sources. One thing is certain, that Baber escàped to his camp. The Moguls placed Abdal Rizak on the throne of Cabul, and resolved to make him sovereign of all the domain held by Khosrou Shah. Their rebellion against Baber may, perhaps, have been owing to their dislike of his discipline, and the severity with which he punished some of them for depredations. On the morrow Baber could not muster more than five hundred cavalry in his camp. All the best of his troops had hastened into Cabul to save their families from the violence of the Moguls. Enraged at this treason and the loss of his kingdom, instead of retiring into the hills, or taking refuge in a fortress, with his little band he made furious assaults upon the enemy. According to Ferishta the army of Abdal Rizak soon amounted to twelve thousand men. In that crisis Baber seems to have gathered energy from despair. In every engagement he behaved with adventurous gallantry, like a soldier of fortune rather than a monarch. He

assailed the rebels wherever they could be found. His skill, and valour, and perseverance excited in them both terror and admiration. One day when the armies were confronting each other, he advanced before the line, and challenged Abdal Rizak to single combat. That prince declined the encounter, but in his stead a champion stood forth, whom Baber slew, and four more after him. On the same day the insurgents were defeated, and Abdal Rizak being taken prisoner was pardoned, but having soon made another attempt to gain the throne was put to death. Baber then found himself undisputed master of all Cabulistan, and enjoyed comparative repose for about two years.

In 1509 Sultan Weis Mirza, the son of Mahmud Mirza, acquired the dominion of Badakshan, owing to the aversion in which the Uzbeks of Sheibani were held there, and retained it to his death in 1521. His grandmother, Shah Begum, claimed descent from Alexander, and was the daughter of Shah Muhammed, King of Badakshan. Baber generally gives his cousin the name of Khan Mirza. Though he was nominally a sovereign, at first he had but a narrow territory, and was in a very sorry plight: so that when Baber despatched a firman, ordering him to send the boy Haider Mirza, who was cousin of them both, to Cabul, there was a long search

before a respectable coat could be procured for him. It may be presumed that the apparel of princes and nobles in the East, as well as in Europe, was very costly. Hence, the frequent mention of dresses given by Baber. A few years after this, the chief nobleman in Ireland sent a petition to Henry the Eighth to give him a suit of clothes.

The father of Haider Mirza had lately lost his life, and Sheibani ordered the Governor of Bokhara to drown Haider in the Amu, but his tutor, Moulana Kazi, carried him away through many perils and distresses to Sultan Weis in Badakshan. In the history, which he composed, there is the following description of his reception at Cabul:—

"When we reached the city Shiram Taghai, the maternal uncle both of the Padsha and myself, came out in procession to receive me, and conveyed me to his house. The Emperor sent word to me that in three days the fortunate hour for me to be presented would arrive, and then he would send for me. The full moon of my fortune was freed from eclipse. When I came into the presence, his Majesty's happiness-diffusing eye began from excess of kindness to shed pearls and rubies of felicity upon me. He extended to me the hand of favour. After I had bent the knee, he took me to the bosom of

fatherly affection, and there held me, not permitting me to fall back and show the accustomed marks of reverence, but made me sit down by his side, and continued to look upon me with the same benevolent expression, while tears flowed from his eyes as before. 'How much,' said he, 'you have endured since the martyrdom of the Beg, and the slaughter of your other relations. Praise be to God, that you have at length reached me in safety. Do not be too much dejected by their loss, for I stand in their place, and whatever favour or affection you would expect from them, that and more will I shew you.' By these expressions I was soothed, and the sense of loneliness, ruin and banishment, was removed from my mind. 'And who,' said he, 'brought you away in safety?' I answered, 'My tutor, Moulana Sadr.' 'Send for him,' he said. When the Moulana came he loaded him with praises, and heard him relate all our adventures. Then he bestowed many gifts upon him, and sent him away delighted. As I came away from his Majesty a nobleman approached me, and, having saluted and embraced me with the utmost respect, said, 'I will shew you the mansion appointed for you.' It was palace, furnished in the most elegant style. The floors were spread with carpets, and there was a masnad, fitted up with good taste. There was good

store of provisions, and a wardrobe, and servants to wait upon me. There I remained a long time in the enjoyment of ease and abundance. The Emperor watched over my education, and constantly by kindness and courtesy, by the promise of favour, or the threat of some privation, incited me to the acquisition of knowledge and virtue; and if ever he saw in me any thing that was commendable, he praised it heartily, and shewed it off to every one. During all that period he treated me with paternal tenderness. It was a sad day that deprived me of my father; but through the unremitting attention of the Emperor I never suffered by the loss. All the while I continued in his service, if he rode out, I rode with him; or if he enjoyed himself in society, I was of the party. Indeed, I was never away from him, except when I was at lessons. He uniformly behaved to me with parental observance and affection."

The same testimony to the kind disposition of Baber was borne by Sultan Said Khan. He spent two years with Baber at Cabul in a constant succession of delights, in gardens, and in banquets, without any care or forethought, except of the next entertainment, and without any headache, except from the wine-cup of the preceding night. The Emperor supplied him with every thing that he could desire, and lived

in the most perfect intimacy with him. It is worthy of notice that these youths, Haider and Said Khan, afterwards became two very accomplished princes. Baber behaved in a similar manner to the son of his enemy, Shah Beg, when that youth fled from Kandahar to Cabul. He took delight in teaching him the arts of government without any fear lest the Prince should turn them against himself. The youth returned at the end of two years to Kandahar.

In 1510 an event occurred, which opened a fair prospect for Baber. Shah Ismael, the first Sophi King of Persia, was a person endowed with many great qualities. He began his military adventures in his fourteenth year, and at the age of eighteen, in 1502, he obtained the sovereignty. His forefathers were renowned for ascetic piety. The fame of their sanctity brought them into opulence and power. His father married the daughter of Uzun Hassan, Chief of the Turkomans of the White Sheep, in other words the monarch of Western Persia. Ismael established the Shia rites and doctrine, and introduced the red cap as a national symbol of faith. The Shiites believe that Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomet, was the second vicar of God, and that Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, the immediate successors of the Prophet, were usurpers. The Sunnites are supported by the general consent

of Mussulmen in the opinion that they were lawful Caliphs. Another distinction is that the Sunnites make the pilgrimage to Mecca, while the Shiites go to the tomb of Imam Reza at Meshed. Before the age of Timour a Persian king had declared his adherence to the sect of Ali. The aversion in which the Shiites are held by the other Mahometans is marked in the declaration made by some eminent person at Constantinople, that it was more meritorious to kill one Shiite than seventy Christians. "The antipathy between the two sects is violent to the present day. An Uzbek Mulla whom I consulted at Bombay had just accomplished the journey to Mecca. On my inquiry whether he had passed through Persia he expressed a degree of horror. To avoid touching that profane soil he had gone round by way of Bokhara, Astrachan, the Crimea, and Constantinople, and thence through Egypt." (W. E.) It has been remarked by Sir J. Malcolm, that the establishment of the Shia faith gave to Persia, a country in which patriotism was unknown, a principle of unity no less powerful.

After the discomfiture and flight of Badia ez Zeman, a division of the Uzbek army committed depredation on some territory claimed by the Persian king, and Sheibani even sent a body of troops to invade Kerman. On receiving an ac-

count of the aggression the Shah despatched an envoy to the Khan with a courteous letter of remonstrance. The Uzbek sovereign, who had grown insolent upon the power and fame he had acquired, returned for answer that he did not comprehend the meaning of the letter: that for his part he held his dominion by inheritance: as for the Shah, if he had lost any part of his patrimonial estate, nothing was more easy than to restore it: he reminded him that sovereignty descended through the father, not the mother: and repeated the maxim, "Let the son follow his father's trade;" and by way of presents he sent him the staff and wooden begging-dish of a mendicant, telling him, "If thou hast forgotten thy father's calling, these may recall them to your mind: but if thou wilt place thy foot on the steps of a throne, remember

He that would clasp to his bosom Royalty as a bride,
Must woo her in the battle-fray athwart sharp scymitars.

Moreover it is my intention to make a pilgrimage to Mecca like a good Moslem, and I will call upon you by the way." Ismael, who took a pride in his descent from the seventh Imam, affected to receive the taunt with quiet humility. But he sent this reply, that if glory or shame, here or hereafter, went by the worth or demerit of ancestors, he would never degrade his by a

comparison with those of Sheibani; that if every one was bound to follow the trade of his father, all being the sons of Adam ought to be prophets: that if the right of succession was decided by inheritance, how had the empire of Turkistan passed through so many dynasties to Sheibani himself? that he too intended to perform a pilgrimage, but it would be to the tomb of the holy Imam Reza at Meshed,* which might afford him an opportunity of meeting the Khan. He sent him for presents a spindle, a reel, and some cotton, saying, "Words are a woman's weapons: It becomes you either to sit quietly in a corner buried in some feminine employment, or to come boldly into the field and hear a few words from the two-tongued Zulfikar, the sword of Ali. Let us meet face to face. Behold, I have tightened my belt for a deadly combat." Without losing a moment Ismael put his army in motion. It was composed for the most part of men who served without pay, the flower of Persian chivalry, and the most valiant horsemen of Western

* The name of Meshed signifies the Tomb of Martyrs. The city is held in great veneration. The remains of Haroon al Reshid lie near those of Imam Reza. Nadir Shah was also buried there. Ahmed Shah, King of Cabul, when he attempted to take Meshed, did nothing more than blockade it for several months, deeming it sinful to fire upon so holy a city.

Asia. On his arrival at Meshed he paid his devotions with deep reverence, and bestowed ample gifts on the guardians and attendants of the shrine. Meanwhile the detachments of the Uzbek host retreated, and not long after they were defeated at Takerabad in the province of Merv. Sheibani summoned all his commanders from Turkistan, and retired into the citadel of Merv. Many desperate encounters took place under the walls of that fortress. At length the King of Persia fearing a protracted siege, and not desiring to face the whole power of Maweralnahar in battle, pretended to be under the necessity of retreating, and sent a message to Sheibani, saying that he had kept his word better than the Khan, and was then obliged to return home, but would still be very happy to see him on his way to Mecca. Then he drew off his army in the direction of Irak. The feint succeeded. Sheibani, burning to wipe out the disgrace of his defeat at Takerabad, refused to wait for reinforcements, although they were close at hand, and pursued him with 25,000 men; but scarcely had he crossed a river about ten miles from Mers, when Ismael threw a body of horse into his rear, broke down the bridge, and assailed him in front with 17,000 cavalry. The steady valour of the Red bonnets won the day; and there being no line of retreat open to Sheibani, he rode with

about five hundred officers and heads of clans into an enclosure made for the cattle of travellers and of the neighbouring peasants. Being hard pressed there he made his horse leap over the wall towards the river, but he fell on the other side, and was smothered by numbers coming after him. When the fight was over, his carcase was disentangled from a heap of slain. The head was brought to Ismael, who ordered the body to be dismembered, and the limbs to be sent into different kingdoms. The skin of the head was stripped off, and then being stuffed with hay was conveyed to Sultan Bajazet of Constantinople. The skull was set in gold, and used by the Shah for a wine cup, especially at grand entertainments. The Prince of Mazenderah, who still held out against the Shah, had often expressed his dependence upon Uzbek aid, by saying that his hand was upon the skirt of Sheibani's robe. A messenger of Ismael advanced toward the Prince in the presence of his whole court and told him, that he the Prince had never really set his hand upon the hem of Sheibani's garment, but that the hand of Sheibani was then indeed on his; and with that he threw the stiff hand of the Khan upon the border of the Prince's robe, and rushing through the astonished courtiers mounted his steed and escaped. The Prince was so deeply affected by that ominous occurrence that his health declined, and

he soon yielded half of his territory to the Shah. Shortly after the victory Ismael marched through the gates of Herat, and commanded all the chief men to assemble in the Great Mosque, and, while the Khutbeh was being read, to pour out imprecations on the companions of the Prophet and on the faithful Ayesha. They were struck with silence at this order, until the aged preacher, Kafez Zein ed din, ascended the marble pulpit, and after offering praise and thanksgiving to God, and honour to the Lord of created beings,* when he came to commemorate his holy companions, through zeal and faith he spurned all thought of this transient life, saying, "And have I then for so many years read the prayer for the Prince in the lawful form, that now when the sun of my life is about to set, I should be guilty of such infidelity as I would have abhorred in my youth? God forbid that I should be guilty of this." Then he repeated the praise of the companions, upon which the Persians all rose and he was dragged down from the pulpit and cut in pieces. The rest of the chief citizens dispersed. On the morrow Ismael sent for the Sheikh ul Islam, and urged him to curse the companions and adopt the Shia faith. The Sheikh replied, "Oh, my son, what knowest thou of religion to point out the way to me? Bring before me the in-

* Mahomet.

human men who have brought thee into this unfortunate condition. If their words prevail over me, I will renounce my belief: but if my belief is proved to be superior, thou shalt renounce thine." The Ulema of Shah Ismael refused to hold any colloquy with such a wretch. Ismael then said to him, "Come, Sheikh, abandon thy sect." The Sheikh answered, "O accursed, may the dust of malediction be in thy mouth, and the kerchief of shame on thy head! How canst thou distinguish Satan from the All-merciful?" Upon this the Shah let fly an arrow at him. The Sheikh drew it out of the wound, and applied the blood to his face and beard, saying, "Praise be to God that after a life of eighty years I have seen my beard red with the blood of martyrdom in defence of the true faith." Ismael shot another arrow at him, and ordered the men to raise him on a tree and to cut it down at the root. This was done, and the Sheikh fell with the tree. His body was then burned by the servants of Ismael in the Malek bazar. His reward is great in heaven."* Ismael continued to persecute the Sunnees as long as he remained in Heri, and found at last that it is more easy to subdue a kingdom than to alter the slightest religious tenet or usage of the inhabitants.

* Mirza Haider, cousin of Baber.

After the death of Sheibani, the Uzbek chieftains elected Kuchum to be their supreme Khan. His capital was Tashkend. Taimur, the son of Sheibani, reigned in Samarcand. Obeidulla Khan, a cousin of Sheibani, held Bokhara. Another relative, Jani Beg, succeeded to the immediate command of the army, and made a stipulation with Ismael that in future the Amu should be the frontier line between the Uzbeks and the Persians.

New hopes were then opened to Baber in the North. Sultan Weis having invited him into Badakshan, without delay he united his army with that of the Mirza. Ismael at the same time testified his friendship by sending home with an honourable retinue, Khanzadeh Begum, the sister of Baber, who had been left in the power of Sheibani ten years before, at Samarcand. When her brother and Kasim Gokultash went to meet her, though he was then only in his twenty-eighth year, so much was he altered by hardships and vicissitudes of fortune, that neither she nor her servant knew him, even after he spoke to them. She spent the rest of her life at Cabul, beloved and honoured by her brother, whom she survived many years. To requite the kindness of Ismael Baber sent his cousin, the King of Badakshan, as ambassador, with rich presents, to congratulate the Shah on his

triumph, and to obtain his aid for the recovery of Maweralnahar. In the meantime he overthrew the Uzbeks of Hissar in battle with great slaughter. Khan Mirza succeeded so well with the Shah, that he returned into Badakshan, accompanied by a large body of Persian auxiliaries. In a short time Baber was enabled to reduce Hissar, Kundez, and Khutlan; and then so many men joined him from the neighbouring tribes, that he found himself in command of sixty thousand cavalry. In the beginning of October 1511, he made a triumphal entry into Samarcand. The houses and bazars were hung with brocade and the richest cloth and paintings. The Khutbeh was read for him, and coin was struck in his name. Cabul was given to Nasir Mirza, and the Persian commanders were sent home with ample rewards for their services. From October to June Baber regaled himself with all the delights of that luxurious capital, until the Uzbeks came more in number than emmets and locusts, under the command of Taimur Sultan, and Baber, venturing to engage them with an inferior force, was discomfited and driven away to Hissar.

It was during that war in Maweralnahar that Baber lost his faithful companion, Kasim Gokultash, to whom he had given the daughter of Mokim Arghun in marriage. One day when the

Emperor had retired for some needful purifications, a party of the enemy surrounded and seized him. Kasim instantly personated Baber, saying, "How dare you touch a servant of mine?" Upon this they loosed hold of Baber, and in the affray that ensued he made his escape, and Kasim lost his life. When the Uzbeks had defeated Baber, the Persian king, fearing another irruption of them into the south, sent a powerful army under Nijim, his minister of finance, to guard the frontier of Khorasan. The Ameer, without any order from his sovereign to that effect, formed a junction with Baber. The combined forces took the city of Karshi by storm, and there, by the command of Nijim, in spite of remonstrances from Baber, fifteen thousand men, Uzbeks and inhabitants, were put to the sword. Moulana Binai, the poet, with many syeds and holy men, were slain in the tumult. "And from that time," saith Mirza Secander, "Ameer Nijim did not prosper in any of his undertakings." In vain he besieged Ghaj-dewan, a town on the north-west of Bokhara, during four months. The Uzbeks, aware that nothing but a great effort would save Maweralnahar, summoned all the princes and chieftains in their alliance*, and marched from

* The territory of Kipchak had fallen under the power

Bokhara under the command of Obeidulla Khan and Jani Beg. In the battle which ensued on the 14th of October, 1514, Baber is said to have had but little share,* and the Persian nobles, offended with the haughty carriage of Ameer Nijim, afforded him no hearty support. The combat was long, desperate, and decisive. "The influence of Islam prevailed over heresy, and victory declared for the true faith." Biram Khan, the ablest of the Persian commanders, being wounded with an arrow, the Red Bonnets were disheartened: the Uzbeks by a resolute charge broke their centre, and routed the whole army. Nijim was taken captive, and put to death. Baber was again compelled to retire upon Hissar, but his misfortunes did not terminate there. He had ceased to be popular in Maweralnahar. When he entered Samarcand in 1511, the citizens hailed him as a deliverer from their detested enemies, the Uzbeks. They were delighted with the restoration of a sovereign descended from their ancient kings. But he offended them by adopting in his army a part of the Persian uniform. The mere appearance

of Russia in 1506, and it is probable that many tribes came southward in consequence.—W. E.

* The Persians threw the blame of their defeat on him, and Humaioon was often taunted with it, when he was a refugee in Persia.

of paying court to Shah Ismael by wearing the red cap incensed them. For the Shah was a champion of the Shia faith, zealous even to persecution, and they were all renowned for orthodoxy; add to this, that the massacre of Karshi brought a degree of odium on all the chiefs who were present there. When Baber returned to Hissar, the Mogul tribes who had served him in the former siege of that place, conspired to destroy the remains of his army. They fell upon him in the night, slew his attendants, and carried away all the booty they could find. He escaped in his night-dress and barefoot into the citadel. Meanwhile in all the region around him the Uzbeks were rapidly acquiring the ascendant. The calamities of war were aggravated by famine and pestilence. Baber, after enduring the extreme of misery in the fortress of Hissar, abandoned all hope of regaining his northern empire, and recrossing the Hindoo Coosh with a few faithful adherents, returned into the city of Cabul in 1515.* For several years afterwards Baber was occupied with endeavours to subjugate the province of Kandahar, which was de-

* In that year, Nasir Mirza died through the effect of habitual intoxication. His death was the signal for a rising of the Mogul chiefs and several of the Chagatai nobles. The subject of their discontent was the succession to Ghazni and its dependencies.

fended by the sons of Zulnun, until, to use the courtly language of Abul Fazil, writing in the reign of his grandson, Akbar, "He was led by divine inspiration to turn his mind to the conquest of Hindustan."

The memoir, which here assumes the form of a journal, begins again with the year 1519.

On the 3d of January there was a violent earthquake in the valley of Chandul, which lasted nearly half an astronomical hour. Next morning I marched against Bajour, and required the Sultan and his people to deliver up the fort. That stupid set returned a foolish answer, upon which I ordered ladders and engines to be prepared. The townsmen never having seen matchlocks before, stood upon the walls and made unseemly antics in derision of our fire, until Ustad Ali Kuli brought down a few of them. The left wing and centre having conveyed an entire Tura from the trenches (the Tura was something which covered the besiegers in their assault), applied the ladders and began to ascend. Dost Beg employed his men in sapping a tower. Ustad Ali plied his matchlock with effect. The Feringi piece was discharged twice on that day. It was luncheon-time when the tower on the north-east was breached by Dost Beg, and his men entered it at the moment when the main body scaled the walls. Thus by the favour of God

that strong castle was taken in a few hours. The men of Bajour were rebels; and besides this they had extirpated the very name of Islam from among them, following the customs of Infidels. Therefore they were put to the sword to the number of three thousand, and we made prisoners of their wives and families. The government of the place was bestowed upon Khwajeh Kilan (Kilan is nearly the same with Mayor). On the 12th the Kafirs having brought down a quantity of wine in skins, we had a drinking party at his house in the fortress.

About that time Baber having in vain sent scouts to find a pass into the Mahoreh hills, whither the Yusefzai Afghans under Malek Ahmed had retired, went himself in the disguise of a Kalender,* and was present at one of their feasts. The daughter of the Malek observing the stranger, sent him some provisions. He was so captivated with her mien and countenance, that on his return he sent to ask her in marriage. Ahmed consented, and with all his Maleks waited on the King. The lady, whose name was Bibi Macharikeh, delighted him to that degree with the graces of her conversation, that he remitted the revenue of her tribe, and raised to a high rank her brother Mir Jemal,

* A devotee.

who accompanied him and her into Hindustan. Such is the Afghan history of this match:* "On the 16th of January I sent Khwajeh Kilan a banner of the mountain cow's tail. In February I left the daughter of the Malek in the fort of Bajour, and we rode into the quarters of the Afghans near Panimali, and brought off a number of sheep and bullocks. On the 14th we halted in Makam. In the course of the last thirty or forty years one Shahbaz Kalender, an impious unbeliever, had perverted the faith of numbers in this vicinity. His tomb was set upon a beautiful knoll near Makam, commanding a view of all the lowland. It appeared to me that so charming a spot ought not to be occupied by the sepulchre of an infidel. Therefore I ordered it to be levelled with the ground. The situation was so fine both for climate and rural beauty, that I took a maajun and continued there for some time. Notwithstanding the weakness of my army at that time, I resolved to make an irruption into India. We crossed the Sinde

* It was a connexion that tended to save the subjects of Baber from depredations of the Afghans. For the spirit of clanship and the ties of affinity had powerful influence among them. It was finally agreed, that they should make no raids into Sewad above Anuha, the amount of black mail which they had been accustomed to levy higher up being deducted from their payment of revenue.

near Attock,* with our horses, camels, and baggage. The camp bazar and infantry were floated across on rafts. As I had always had the conquest of Hindostan at heart, and the countries of Behreh, Khushab, Chanâb, and Chaniût, had long been in possession of the Toorks, I regarded them as my own domain, and was determined to obtain possession of them either in peace or by war. I issued an order that no one should molest the flocks and herds of brood mares that were feeding on all sides. Seven kos to the north of Behreh there is a hill which is called Jud, from a resemblance to the hill of that name (Ararat) in Armenia. It is occupied by two races of men called Jud and Jenjuheh, descended from one ancestor. From old times they have been masters of the hill country, and of the roving hordes between Behreh and Nilab, but their power is exerted in a friendly manner. They take for tribute a sum that has been fixed from a remote period. Each master of a family pays seven shahrokis,† and is bound to serve in the army. A shahroki is also paid for every head of cattle. The chief of the hill people is called Rai, while his brothers and

* Alexander, Timour, and Nadir, crossed at Attock. The river is there only 286 yards wide, but very deep, and it runs more than six miles an hour.—MALTE BRUN.

† A shahroki is less than a shilling.—W. E.

sons bear the title of Malek. In the middle of Jud there is a broad level in which the water from the surrounding heights forms a lake about five miles in circumference. The scene and the climate were so charming, that I formed a garden there, and called it the Bagh e Sefa, the Garden of Purity. On the top of the Pass of Hambatu in the Salt Range there came several men with presents in token of submission. I sent them to assure the citizens of Behreh that I came with a peaceful intention, and about noon we halted in a grassy plain near that city. At the time when I was diverted from the invasion of India by the hope of plunder at Kohat, in 1505, the government of Behreh, Khushâb, and Chaniáb, was held by Syed Ali Khan,* who read the Khutbeh in the name of Iskander Behlul, emperor of Delhi, and was subject to him. Afterwards he resigned them to Doulet Khan, Hakim of Lahore, whose eldest son, Ali Khan, was now in command of Behreh. Tâtar Khan, the father of Doulet, was one of the Afghan chieftains who invaded Hindostan, and placed Behlul† upon the throne. The Khan was in possession of Sirhend and all the country to the north of the Sutlej.

* In Afghanistan the chief of a tribe bears the title of Khan.—MALTE BRUN.

† 1450.

The revenue of these territories was more than three krores.*

1519. The head men of Behreh agreed to pay me 400,000 shahrokis (about 20,000*l.* sterling), as a ransom for their property. All the territories that had belonged to the Turks, I considered to be my own, and therefore I permitted no pillage. My officers were always saying, that if ambassadors were sent in a friendly way into these countries, it could do no harm. Therefore I despatched Mulla Murshid to demand of Sultan Ibrahim, who had lately succeeded his father, Iskander Behlul, the restitution of all the country formerly subject to the Turks. The people of Hindustan, and especially the Afghans, are a foolish and senseless race. They can neither remain in a state of amity, nor manfully persevere in war. My envoy, who took with him a letter to Doulet Khan, was not allowed to see him, nor to proceed on his way to Delhi; and after being detained some months at Lahore, returned to me at Cabul without an answer.

On the 4th of March there came a letter to inform me of the birth of a son at Cabul, and being then in an expedition against Hind, I took it as a good omen, and named him Hindal. On the next morning, after the Divan was dismissed,

* Probably about 150,000*l.*—W. E.

I went into a boat with Dost Khawend, Naaman, Tengri Kuli, and others. We drank spirits till the time of afternoon prayers, when we indulged ourselves with maajun. About night prayers, we rode back to the camp, where some of the party sat down to spirits, and some to maajun. The spirit-drinkers never can agree with those who take maajun, and the party soon broke up in very ill humour.

On the 7th, about noon-day prayers, I took a ride, and afterwards we had a drinking-party in a boat till bed-time prayers, when being quite tipsy we mounted our horses, and with torches in our hands came back from the river side to the camp at full gallop, sometimes rolling to one side of the horse, and sometimes to the other. I was miserably drunk, and vomited plentifully; and on the morrow, when they told me that we had ridden to the camp with torches, I had no recollection of the circumstance. On the 11th, I went to the grounds where the sugar-cane is cultivated, and examined the buckets and wheels used for irrigation. On Saturday, the 12th, the sun entered Aries. I bestowed upon Senger Khan, who advised this enterprise against Behreh, the government of Khushâb, and a banner of the mountain cow's tail.

Having provided for the tranquillity of Behreh, I returned to Cabul on the 30th. Be-

fore we reached the city, I issued an order that no one should give intelligence of my approach, so that there was no time to put Humaioon and Camran on horseback. They were brought in the arms of servants to pay me reverence. 1519.

On the night of Tuesday, April 5th, Dost Beg, who had caught a violent fever on the road, was received into the mercy of God. I felt a deep concern at his loss. His body was carried to Ghazni, and was buried in front of the Sultan's mausoleum. He was an admirable man. Before he attained the rank of Beg, he performed many gallant actions in my service. When I was wounded by Sultan Tambol, he engaged him hand to hand, and thus enabled me to escape when surrounded by enemies.

On Tuesday, the 12th, Sultanim Begum, the eldest daughter of Sultan Mirza, who had been in Khwarism during the late occurrences, arrived with her daughter at Cabul. After they had taken up their abode in the palace which I assigned them for a residence, I went to visit them with the same ceremony as if they had been my elder sisters. As a mark of respect I bowed down, and they bowed down to me: then we embraced each other:* we always observed the same usage afterwards.

* Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, bowed thrice when they met.

On Tuesday, the 19th, I fasted. Yunis Ali and some others said to me in their surprise, "What! Tuesday, and you fasting! This is a miracle." We made an excursion to Benzadi, where we halted at the abode of the Kazi. That night we had made every preparation for a jovial party, when the Kazi came to me and said, "Such a thing was never yet seen in my house: nevertheless, you are Emperor, and it is for you to do as you will." Although every thing was ready for the entertainment, yet to please the Kazi, we gave up the intention of drinking. On the 22d, a bird called Ding (the Adjutant) was brought to me. It will be described more particularly hereafter. On the 23d, I planted shoots of the plane and the sycamore. On the next day we had a drinking-party at the first dawn of light: at mid-day we mounted to return toward Kabul, and reaching Khwajeh Hassan completely drunk, we slept there till midnight. Abdalla, while we were at Khwajeh, leaped into the water in a state of intoxication, arrayed as he was in a dress of honour, and was so benumbed with cold that he was obliged to remain there. The next morning he came to me ashamed and penitent for his excesses, having before formed a resolution to abstain from wine. I said to him, "Now speak out; is your repentance to be effectual and profitable for the future or not? You are not to abstain from wine in my presence, and go on

drinking every where else." He adhered to his resolution for some months, and no longer. On Friday, the 29th, I began to have symptoms of an intermittent fever, and was bled by my own desire. The fever attacked me every two or three days, until I was relieved by a perspiration. At the end of ten days Mulla Khwajka prescribed wine mixed with flowers of Narcissus, but it was of no benefit to me. On the 30th of May I bestowed dresses of honour on some Afghan chiefs: to one a robe of waved silk, to another a robe of silk with rich buttons. It was settled that the Afghans of Bajour and Sewâd should contribute 6000 loads (38,000 cwt.) of rice to the government. On the 1st of June I took a julap. On the 6th a son of Kasim Beg having married a daughter of Khalifeh, I received a wedding-present of a thousand shahrokis (nearly 50*l.*), and a saddled horse. On the 7th Shah Hassan Beg sent to ask my permission to have a wine-party.* On that day being with some friends in a tent near the gate of the Charbagh, I desired them to drink freely in order that I might observe the gradual effect of wine upon them, while I abstained from it myself, being still unwell. Ghiâs the Buffoon made his appearance, but was turned out again several times in sport, until with much wrangling and

* This perhaps means that he asked Baber to let the household officers go to the party.

jesting he forced his way into the party. While we were there I composed and sent to Shah Hassan the following verses:

(TOORKI)

My friends enjoy the rose-garden of beauty in this banquet,
While I am deprived of the delights of their society,
Yet since the charms of social bliss are theirs,
I breathe a hundred prayers that no evil may betide them.

Between noon-day and afternoon prayers the party got drunk, and began to be guilty of fooleries. On the 28th of June Ali Rikabdar having swum across the water in the Garden of the Plane Tree a hundred times, I presented him with a dress of honour and a saddled horse. About the same time I sent these verses to Polad * Sultan at Samarcand.

Oh Zephyr, if thou enter the sanctuary of that cypress,
Remind him of this heart-broken victim of separation.
The object of my love thinks not of Baber, yet I hope
That God will pour compassion into his steel heart.

The Abdalrahman Afghans did not pay their taxes, and molested the caravans. Therefore I went in July to chastise them, and sent predatory parties to scour the country. One of these detachments was in the dale to the east of Ger-

* Polad means steel.

dez, when forty or fifty Afghans came in sight. Before I could ride up Hussain Hassan rashly spurred his horse into the midst of them, and was laying about him right and left, when his horse being wounded threw him, and he was quickly cut in pieces by the Afghans. The Ameers stopped short, and calmly looked on without rendering him any assistance. When I arrived with some choice troops we cut down all the Afghans, and made a tower of their skulls. The Ameers then approaching us, I said to them, "Since you being so many have suffered a youth of merit to be slain before your eyes by a few Afghans on foot, I deprive you of your rank and of your commands: your beards shall be shaven, and you shall be led ignominiously round the town for an example." On the 30th I indulged myself with a maajun, and made my servants throw into the water the liquor by which fishes are intoxicated, and we caught several in that way. On the 15th of August with the same drug we took a great quantity of fish in the river Perwan. On the 16th we had a morning cup. In the vicinity of Khwajeh Seyârân they killed a large serpent, out of which crept a thinner one quite sound, and out of that came a rat perfect in every limb. On the night of Wednesday the fifth of Ramzan we broke our fast at the house of Kasim Beg, and the next morning

we ate at the house of Khalifeh. (The custom was to eat before sunrise and fast till sunset.) On Monday, the day of the Id, I took a maajun to remove the crop sickness. We halted near a hot spring. Some meat had been already dressed when Senger Khan arrived with some maajun as tribute, and made a tender of his services. We next halted near the bottom of the Kheiber Pass, and had a drinking party there. During the entertainment I sent a narrative of our march to Khwajeh Kilan at Bajour, and wrote on the margin of the letter this couplet:

> Oh Zephyr, kindly say to that beautiful fawn,
> Thou hast condemned me to wander in the hills and deserts.

On the 10th of October I fixed the tribute of the Khirelchi and Shamû Kail Afghans at 4000 sheep. On the 14th we reached the Garden of Fidelity near Adinapoor. The grass plots were all covered with clover, and the pomegranate-trees were of a beautiful yellow colour. The fruit was hanging red upon the branches. The best oranges were not yet ripe. 1520. On the 7th of January we again visited the Garden. The oranges had become yellow, and the green foliage was beautiful. We remained there for five or six days. As I designed to ab-

stain from wine at the age of forty, and was then in my thirty-ninth year, I drank most copiously.* On the 15th we halted at a house which overlooked a grove of orange-trees. The rain fell in torrents while we drank wine in the house. I communicated to Mulla Ali Jan a charm which he wrote on four scraps of paper, and hung them up to the four points of the compass. The rain ceased immediately, and the sky began to clear up. On the 18th we visited the fountain of Gidjer. In this district alone of all Lemghanat are there any date-palms. On the 22d I went and threw a net for fish, and afterwards drank wine in a garden at Alisheng. On the next day the Malek of Alisheng having been guilty of many crimes and shed innocent blood in murder, I delivered him up to the avengers of blood, by whom he was put to death. (The right of private revenge is countenanced by the Mahometan law. The criminal is condemned by the judge, and then given up to the relatives of the murdered person to be ransomed or executed, as they may determine.) On the 24th, having read a section of the Koran I returned to Kabul.

Another blank occurs here, but we are not to imagine that Baber was inactive. In 1520 he

* Michael Lambourne in Kenilworth, "To-morrow I will drink nothing but water, nothing but water."

made another advance toward Hindostan as far as Syedpur, but came back to defend Cabul against Shah Beg, the son of Zulnun. Shah was soon driven from the field, and Kandahar was kept in a state of partial blockade for nearly three years. The open country was annually ravaged and laid waste by Baber, until the city was yielded to him in 1522. After that event he was free to invade Hindostan without any fear for the security of Cabul. While he was occupied in the blockade of Candahar, Shah Beg was conquering Sind, and became master of Tatta, the capital city. He founded an independent sovereignty there. "He was a prince of great talent, popular both with the army and his subjects, and an enlightened patron of letters and learned men." (W. E.) In 1521, on the death of Khan Mirza, the province of Badakshan was given to Humaioon, then in his thirteenth year. In 1524 Baber made a fourth inroad into Hindostan. The reign of Ibrahim, Emperor of Delhi, had been full of confusion and rebellion. His arrogance alienated the Afghan nobles, whose ancestors had raised his family to the throne. The eastern provinces from Bedaun to Bahar were in open revolt. The Punjaub was held by Doulet Khan, with his sons, Ghazi and Dilawer, who being Afghans themselves were alarmed at

the fate of other Afghan chieftains, and thought rebellion more safe than obedience. They sent envoys to beseech the aid of Baber, and offer their allegiance. Nothing could have been more in unison with his wishes. He marched through the country of the Gakers and reduced them to subjection. Behar Khan Lodi and other Afghan Ameers, who were either loyal to Ibrahim or averse to an intruder, encountered him in the vicinity of Lahore, and were defeated. His victorious army sacked the bazaar and town of Lahore. Debalpoor was next taken by assault, and a general massacre ensued. There he was advised by Doulet Khan to detach a body of troops against Ismael Jilwani. But Dilawer, the son of Doulet, let him know that the advice was given merely with a view to weaken his army. Whereupon Baber threw Doulet and Ghazi into prison: yet he was soon prevailed upon to release them, and even bestowed Sultanpoor upon them with its dependencies. Shortly after this they revolted from Baber, and betook themselves to the eastern hills. Dilawer was then put in possession of all their estates. Dibalpoor was given to Sultan Alaeddin, the brother of Ibrahim, and he was flattered with the hope of succeeding to the empire. The defection of so powerful a man as Doulet Khan, with other ad-

verse circumstances, induced Baber to go back to Cabul. Upon which Doulet and Ghazi took Sultanpoor, and imprisoned Dilawer Khan. Their forces increased, and Sultan Alaeddin was defeated by them. At that time Sultan Ibrahim found means to send an army for the purpose of bringing Doulet Khan into submission. But the crafty veteran intrigued with so much skill in the imperial camp, that he gained over the general, and the army dispersed. Soon after that Baber being obliged to march to the relief of Balkh, sent Alaeddin into Hindostan, with an order to his commanders that they should accompany the Sultan in an expedition against Delhi, and place him upon the throne. Doulet Khan instantly assured Alaeddin of his hearty co-operation in this enterprise, and sent him a deed of allegiance under the seal of his chiefs and Kazis. The Ameers of Baber remonstrated in vain against the design of acting in concert with Doulet Khan. Alaeddin engaged to cede all the Punjaub to him. Baber probably was of opinion that this treaty between Doulet and Alaeddin cancelled his own agreement with that Sultan. The events that followed are thus related by Baber.

(November, 1525.) On Friday the first of Sefer, the sun being in Sagittarius, I left Cabul

to invade Hindustan. At Barikab I was met by the brothers of Nur Beg bringing twenty thousand shahrokis in gold and silver from the Diwan of Lahore. The chief part of this sum I sent through Mulla Ahmed, one of the chief men of Balkh, to promote my interest in that quarter. (Nothing could prove more clearly the scarcity of specie in Cabul, than such an employment of a sum not exceeding £1000 sterling. W. E. The mule-loads of silver which came from Candahar seem to have disappeared. The payment of revenue in kind being a practice very inconvenient to all parties, seems to indicate that both in Cabul and India there was seldom an abundance of the precious metals. C.) On the 25th of November I halted at the Garden of Fidelity, then in high glory. During the few days we remained at that beautiful place, we drank a great quantity of wine at every sitting, and regularly took a morning cup. Humaioon was very late in his arrival, for which I chided him sharply. On the 8th of December I was in a boat on the river with several who were ready at making verses, Sheikh Zin, Mulla Ali Jan, and others. A verse of Salikh being quoted, it was agreed that every one should make an extempore couplet to the same rhyme and measure. As we had been very merry at the ex-

pense of Mulla Ali Jan, I repeated the following verses:

What can one do with a drunken sot like you?
What can be done with one foolish as a she-ass?

When I had composed these lines my mind was led to reflection, and I was struck with regret that a tongue which could repeat the most sublime productions should bestow any trouble on such unworthy verses, that a heart elevated to noble conceptions should occupy itself with these contemptible fancies. From that time forward I religiously abstained from satirical poetry. On the 9th of December we were at Ali Mesjed, where, on account of the small extent of ground for an encampment, I always took up my quarters on an eminence. The view of all the fires blazing in the camp below was very brilliant. It was certainly owing to this beautiful spectacle that every time I halted in this spot I drank wine. When we came to Bekram (Peshawer), I had a defluxion and fever with a cough, and I brought up blood every time that I coughed. I knew what had brought this chastisement upon me.

(Toorki)

What can I do with thee, oh my tongue?
On thy account I am covered with blood within.
How long in this strain of satire will you compose verses?

(Arabic) "Oh, my Creator, I have tyrannized over my soul; and if Thou art not bountiful unto me, I shall be of the number of the accursed." I once more composed myself to penitence and self-control, and resolved to refrain from this kind of idle thoughts, and to break my pen. Such chastenings from the throne of the Almighty are mighty graces to rebellious servants: and every one who rightly feels the chastisement has cause to regard them as overflowing mercies.

On the 11th we formed a ring round a small wood near Bekram, in which there was a rhinoceros. We raised a loud shout, and the beast issued into the plain at full speed. Humaioon and his companions, who had never seen a rhinoceros, were mightily delighted. They followed him nearly a kos, and at last brought him down with their arrows. We crossed the Sinde, the Behat, and the Chenâb (the Acesines). On the 26th, at Sialkot, a merchant brought intelligence of Sultan Alaeddin. He had marched against Delhi, accompanied by Dilawer Khan and other Ameers, while Doulet and Ghazi remained behind to keep possession of the Punjab. On reaching Inderi, he was joined by Sulemân Sheikzadeh, and the confederate army was increased to 35,000 men. They laid siege to Delhi, and surprised the camp of Ibra-

him, but were overthrown in the battle. Alaeddin, on his retreat, met with a cold reception from Ghazi Khan, which induced him to come to me near Pelhur, and make an offer of fealty.

I crossed the river Bìah, and blockaded Doulet Khan in the fort of Milwat. He proposed to surrender the place if I would forgive his offences. To expose his rudeness, I required that he should come out with the same two swords about his neck which he had hung by his side to meet me in battle. After making some frivolous pretexts for delay he was at length brought to me, and I ordered the two swords to be taken from his neck. When he came into the presence he seemed reluctant to bow, and I directed the men to push his leg and make him bow. Then he was placed by my side, and I thus addressed him: "I called you Father; I shewed you more reverence than you expected; I delivered you and your sons from the insolence of the Baluches. I rescued your tribe, your family, and women from subjection to Ibrahim. I bestowed upon you the countries held by Tatar Khan, your father, to the amount of three krores of revenue (150,000*l.*). What evil have I ever done that you should come in this style against me, with two swords?" He was stupified, and stammered out a few words quite beside the purpose. It was settled that he and his family

should retain their authority only over their own tribe, and give up all their property except their villages. Doulet Khan died soon after at Sultanpoor. On the 8th of January, I went to examine the fort. There was a number of theological books and other valuable works, in the library of Ghazi Khan. Some of them I gave to Humaioon, and others I sent to Kamran. Khwajeh Kilan, the commandant of Bajour, having loaded some camels with the wines of Ghazni, brought them to the camp, and we had a joyous party at his quarters on a high ground that overlooked the camp and the fort. Marching thence we entered the pleasant vale of Doon. Almost the only canal that is in India is to be found here. In several of the fields rice is cultivated, and there are villages on every knoll. The stream which runs through the middle of it is large enough to turn three or four mills. There are numbers of peacocks and monkeys in the more retired parts of the vale. All around the Doon there are low hills on which there are castles of exceeding strength. One of them is on a rock one hundred and forty feet in perpendicular height. It has a draw-bridge by which the horses and flocks pass in and out.

After sending a detachment in pursuit of Ghazi Khan, I put my foot in the stirrup of resolution, and went on against the Emperor Ibrahim,

the son of Iskander, the son of Behlul Lodi Afghan. At the Kagar we heard that the Sultan had put his forces in motion, and that Hamid the Shekdar (military collector) of Hissar Firozeh, was coming against me. On the 26th of February Humaioon with a light squadron took Hamid by surprise, routed his troops, and brought away seven elephants. This was Humaioon's first engagement, and it was a good omen. I sent him a dress of honour, a horse, and a reward in money, and gave him the government of Hissar Firozeh, which yielded a krore of revenue. Our next halt was at Shahabad. (At that station, and on that day, the razor was first applied to the beard of Humaioon. As my honoured father mentions the first time of his using the razor, in humble emulation of him I have commemorated the same circumstance regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six, I, Mohammed Humaioon, am transcribing the memoir written by his late majesty with his own hand.) From Shahabad I sent scouts to procure intelligence of the Emperor. They reported that he was coming from Delhi by slow marches. A column of several thousand horse being sent forward by him into the Doab. I despatched Chin Taimur and my son-in-law, Mehdi Khwajeh, along the Jumna to surprise them. At the first sight of my

troops the enemy fled, leaving eighty men and some elephants in their hands. A few of the prisoners were put to death, in order to strike terror into the Indian army. Then I caused the gun-carriages to be fastened together with twisted bull-hides after the manner of Rûm. Between every pair of carriages were set several Turas. It was resolved in a council of Amirs to take a position for battle near PANIPUT.* Our right wing rested on the town. In front were the Turas and artillery, with matchlock men behind them. On the left we made entrenchments, and fixed the branches of trees together in the ground, with outlets here and there for a hundred men or more to sally forth. Many of the soldiers were in great alarm. They were two or three months' journey from their native land, and were about to encounter a monarch whose army was said to be 100,000 strong, and his elephants 1000. Trepidation and fear are always unseemly. Whatever Almighty God has decreed from all eternity cannot be reversed. The Emperor possessed the treasure accumulated by his father and grandfather, sufficient in current coin to have enlisted 100,000 more soldiers; but he was miserly to the last degree, and he had no experience in war. During several days that we spent

* Paniput is also the scene of a great battle between the Mahrattas and Ahmed Shah in 1761.

at Paniput, a small party of my troops advanced close up to the Indian camp, discharged their arrows with impunity. The Begs persuaded me to send four or five thousand men on a night attack. But they did not assemble in good order, and the attempt failed. They lingered near the enemy's camp till it was broad daylight, and then the Indians came out against them. In spite of the multitude that hung upon them in the retreat, they returned without the loss of a man. On the 21st of April at the time of morning prayers, 1526, while it was yet twilight, the patrolles reported that the enemy was approaching in battle array. We immediately braced on our armour and mounted for the combat. The right wing was led by Humaioon, the [illegible] Muhammed Zeman Mirza of Kho[illegible] centre under my command wa[illegible] one headed by Chin Taimur, the other [illegible] (prime minister). The van was under Gol[illegible] Abdalaziz, the master of horse, commanded [illegible] reserve. Beyond the right wing I station[illegible] Kazil, with a flanking-party of Mogul[illegible] similar body on the left, with an order to [illegible] circuit and fall upon the rear of the ene[illegible] When the army of Ibrahim came in sight, it was bearing toward my right wing; therefore I de-

[illegible] He had felt the want of this at Sir-i-Pul.

...Abdulaziz to support Humaioon. The ... came on rapidly and the sight of our de... checked their speed. My flanking-parties quickly reached a compass to shoot arrows upon their rear, and I ordered the right and left wing to charge them in front. The conflict was obstinate, and I sent divisions to reinforce both Humaioon and Zeman Mirza. Meanwhile Ustad Ali Kuli discharged his field-pieces many times with good effect, and Mustafa 'Rumi, the cannoneer on the left of the centre, did much execution with his artillery. My right, and centre, and left, and flankers, were all hotly engaged with the enemy at once. The troops of Ibrahim ... entirely surrounded. They made a few ... charges on my right and left wings.* ... plied them with arrows and drove ... their main body. They were ... such confusion that they could not ...ght nor fly. The sun was spear-high when ...ttest began, and at midday they were ...tely beaten, and my men were exulting in

... the favour of Almighty God, this mighty ... in the space of half a-day was laid in the ...ust. Five or six thousand lay dead in one part

* Not upon the centre, because of the artillery. The ...ians had no artillery.

of the field, where the corpse of Ibrahim was discovered, and his head was brought to me. On that very day I sent Humaioon with a body of light cavalry to seize the treasury at Agra, and I ordered Mehdi Khwajeh to hasten on the same errand to Delhi. On the 23d I visited the Mausoleum of Nizam Aulia, a few miles south of Delhi. I circumambulated the tomb of Kutbeddin, and went to the other tombs, and the Shem's tank, and the royal tank. I saw the palace of Alaeldin Gilji* and his minaret, and the sepulchre and garden of Behlul and of Iskander. (The tomb of Khwajeh Kutbeddin† is eleven miles south of Delhi. Near it is a famous minaret built in honour of that saint by a sovereign of India. It is a handsome column of red sandstone, 240 feet high, in three divisions separated from each other by projecting galleries. Each division is fluted and embellished with Arabic inscriptions. The whole was crowned with a cupola which was thrown down by an earthquake. W. E. Another account is that it was built by a king whose name was Kutub, and hence bears the name of the Kuth Minar, and that it is 260 feet high. The date of it is about 1220. There are pointed arches to the

* Alla-ood-deen of the Khilji dynasty, A. 1316.

† "Khilth" is pole or axis, hence "Kuth-ood-din," chief of religious practice.

doorways). On my return to the camp we went into a boat and drank arak. On the 27th Mauluwee Muhmud and Sheik Zin read the Khutbeh in my name at Delhi, and distributed money among the Fakirs and beggars. On the 4th of May I halted in the suburbs of Agra at the palace of Suleman Feranuli. Sultan Sekander had made Agra his residence during several years, while he was endeavouring to reduce Gwalior. That stronghold was at length gained by capitulation in the reign of Ibrahim, Shumsabad being given in exchange to Bikermajeet, the Hindoo who was Rajah of Gwalior for more than a hundred years. In the battle of Paniput he was sent to Hell. His family and the heads of his clan remained in Agra. Humaioon did not permit them to be plundered of their wealth, but of their own accord they presented to him a number of jewels, and among them a celebrated diamond which had belonged to Sultan Alaeddin, and was valued by a judge of diamonds at half the daily expenditure of the whole world. It is about eight mishkals.* Humaioon offered it to me as a peshkesh, but I returned it to him. On the 10th of May, I took up my abode in Agra at the palace of Ibrahim. From the time of the blessed Prophet, on whom and his family be

* Or 800 rattis. A mishkal is 92 barleycorns. According to Knolles, a Turkish miscal is four drams.

peace and salvation, down to the present day, three foreign kings had subdued Hindostan, Mahmud of Ghaznee, Shehabeddin Ghuri, and myself.* Both were great potentates, opposed only by Rajahs of petty kingdoms. I on the other hand, while the whole power of the Uzbeks in Maweralnahar threatened my dominions on the north-west, advanced with not more than 12,000 men, including camp-followers, against the Emperor of all India, whose army was computed to be 100,000 fighting men, with 1000 elephants.† In reward for my confidence in Him, the Most High did not allow me to endure so many hardships in vain, but overthrew my formidable adversary, and gave me the sceptre of Hindostan.

This is a very extensive, rich, and populous country. At the time of my invasion there were five Mussulmen and two Pagans in it exercising royal authority. First, the Affghan emperor Ibrahim, whose realm extended from Behreh to Bahar. Secondly, Muhammed Mozaffer in Guze-

* India was almost free from invasion for eleven centuries before the time of Mahmud, 1000 A.D. After his conquest no Hindoo prince ever ascended the throne of Delhi. Shahabeddin reduced Lahore in 1186, after he had overthrown the Ghiznivide dynasty. About the year 1193 he defeated an Indian army of 300,000 cavalry and 3000 elephants. Baber has not mentioned the conquest of Delhi by Timour.

† There was no less disparity of numbers at Plassy.

rat, who was constantly employed in copying the Koran. His ancestor was cupbearer to Firoz Shah.* Thirdly, the Bahmanis in the Dekkan, whose power is now at an end. When the prince is in need of any thing he is obliged to ask it of the Ameers. Fourthly, Mahmud, the Sultan of Malwa, whose forefather was also a cupbearer in the court of Firoz Shah. Mahmud was of the Kilji dynasty; his empire was diminished by the conquests of Rana Sanka. The fifth was Nusrat Shah in Bengal. In that country the succession is seldom decided by inheritance. There is a throne allotted for the king, and a seat for each of the Amirs. It is the throne, rather than the king, that commands reverence; and when a vizier is dismissed, his servants, regarding the seat as the object which determines their obedience, attend there upon his successor. In the same manner whoever kills the king and places himself upon the throne, is obeyed by all as their lawful sovereign. The people of Bengal say, "We are faithful to the throne, whoever fills it." In a former age an Abyssinian slew the reigning monarch, and became king in his stead. He in his turn was killed by Alaeddin, at whose death, however,

* A virtuous sovereign who died at Delhi in his ninetieth year, A.D. 1388.

the throne was quietly ascended by his son Nusrat Shah.

(Down to a late period it was a custom in Malabar, in the country of the Samorin, to hold a jubilee every twelve years. A tent was pitched in a spacious plain, and there was all manner of revelry and discharges of artillery, day and night, for a fortnight. At the end of the festival if any four of the guests could force their way through a body of 30,000 guards, he that killed the Samorin in his tent would succeed to his dominion. See Hamilton's "New Account of the East Indies," vol. i. p. 309.)* In Bengal every sovereign in succession is expected to amass a treasure. Another custom has existed from time immemorial, that separate Pergunnahs are assigned to defray the several expenses of the stable, the household, the treasury, and other departments.

The most potent of the Pagan monarchs is the Rajah of Dijnager in the Dekkan. Another is the Rana Sanka of Cheetore, who has attained to high eminence and extended his dominion by his own valour. There are many other Rais

* One of the main features in the history of the Rajpoots, "is the operation of the first principle, Gadi-ca-an, *i.e.* allegiance to the throne, without reference to the worth of its occupant."—Col. Tod, v. 2, p. 43.

and Rajahs who have never submitted to the Mussulman rule.

Hindostan is situate in the first, second, and third climates. It is a very fine country. The hills and rivers, winds and rains, animals and plants, the inhabitants and their languages, are all different from those of our countries. With regard to the mountaineers on the north, all I could learn was that they were called Kas, and Kashmir, which is the only city in the mountains, perhaps takes its name from them.* The natives of Hind call the country of the Kas Sewalik Parbal, "the 125,000 mountains." The chief trade of the mountaineers is in musk-bags, the tails of the mountain-cow, saffron, lead, and copper. The white summits of the mountains may be seen from Lahore all the year round.

In all the wide provinces of Hindustan there are no canals made for irrigation. The spring crops will grow without rain, and there is always enough rain in autumn. In Lahore and Sehrind water is raised by means of a wheel. Two ropes, with pitchers attached to them, are thrown over a wheel at the top of a well; at one end of the axletree there is another wheel

* Mir is hill. Connect Kas with the Kasia regio and Kasii Montes of Ptolemy, beyond Mount Imaus, and with Kashgar.

with teeth, and to the side of this wheel they set a third with an upright axle, which is turned by bullocks.

The country and the towns of India are ugly in the extreme. There is little variety of hill and dale, and the towns are all alike. It is a trouble to cross the rivers, their channels are so deeply worn. In many parts the plain is overspread with thorny brushwood, and the people, relying on this defence, often refuse to pay taxes, and continue long in revolt. The cities are all supplied with water from tanks, which are filled by the autumnal rains (and in which, he might have added, the natives perform their ablutions). A village or town is built very quickly, for they have abundance of strong grass and timber, and the destruction of them is often no less rapid; for, on the approach of an enemy, the inhabitants bury their more cumbrous effects, and each taking a burthen of grain, they retire into some fort or natural stronghold, where they sometimes endure the extremity of hunger before their foes have departed.

Among the animals peculiar to Hindostan there is the elephant, which they call Hati. It is an immense creature, and very sagacious. It understands whatever is said, and will do whatever it is bidden. It inhabits the district of Kalpi, and is found in great numbers farther to

the east. (As the whales have become scarce on the coast of Greenland, so the wild elephant is now found only at the foot of the Himalayas, and in the Western Ghauts. Their disappearance from the rest of India indicates an increase of population since the time of Baber. On the other hand, the deserted cities, ruined palaces, aqueducts choked up, decayed causeways wells and caravanserais, and the vast reservoirs and embankments in the middle of jungles, are signs of decline. In regard to the assertion of Baber, that the elephant was not known out of India, it may be well to remark that both the ancient history and sculpture of Persia afford evidence that the animal was at one time to be seen in that kingdom.)

Another is the rhinoceros, equal in bulk to three buffaloes. The opinion prevalent in Turan, that it can lift an elephant on its horn, is probably a mistake. I had a drinking-cup and a dice-box made out of the horn. It is very common in the jungles of Peshawer and Hashnagar. The hide is so thick that a powerful bow will not send an arrow more than a few inches through it. (The rhinoceros has long been expelled from the country near the Indus. W. E.)

Another is the wild buffalo, much larger than the common sort. There is a species of deer named Kilhereh, which the Hindoos employ to

catch other deer. They tie a large stone to the leg of one, and attach a running net to the horns. The wild deer, being very prone to fight, butts with its antlers into the net, and is entangled. The most violent efforts it can make will not draw the other to run away with it, owing to the heavy stone. The Hindoos train the tame deer to fight in their houses.

Another is the nol, which mounts on trees, and bears the name of mus khurma, "the palm rat." Another of the mouse kind is the gilheri (squirrel), which is surprisingly nimble among the trees.

Among the birds peculiar to India there is the mor (the peacock), a very beautiful creature, adorned with yellow, green, azure and violet colours. It is found even in Bajour, but not farther north. According to the doctrine of Imâm Abu Hanifah, the flesh is lawful food.

There is likewise the parrot, which comes from Bajour into Nangenhar, when the mulberries are ripe. The small kind, which is taught to speak, may be seen in Bajour in flights of several thousand. There is another sort, of which the upper feathers are crimson, which learns to speak well. I had imagined that a parrot could merely repeat what it was taught, and had no power of reducing ideas into language. But Abul Kasim, one of my courtiers,

lately told me a remarkable incident. The cage of a parrot having been covered up, it cried out, "Uncover my face, I cannot breathe!" and at another time when the bearers had set it down to rest themselves in a thoroughfare, the parrot exclaimed, "Every body is going by, why don't you pass on?" Let the credit rest with the relater. A man cannot believe this without hearing the bird himself. There is another kind with red plumage, which may be taught to speak, a very elegant bird, but the voice of it grates like the sound of broken china rubbed on copper-plate.

There is a kind of partridge which has a black neck and beak, spotted with white. It makes a cry like Shir darem Shehreh, "I have milk and sugar." The partridges of Asterabad are said to cry, Bat mini-tuti lar. Those of Arabia say, Bil shuker tidum al neam—"Gratitude increases benefits." There are other fowls that frequent the water and banks of rivers: one of these is the ding, which is often seen at Kabul. I had a very tame one that used to catch in its beak any flesh thrown to it; and once it swallowed a shoe well shod with iron, and at another time a fowl with all the plumage.

As for vegetable productions, there is the ambeh (mango), the most lovely fruit of Hindustan; the plantain with leaves four feet in length;

the ambli, tamarindus, *i. e.* tamar Hindi, the Indian date: it is a very common and beautiful tree, casting a broad shade. The houses in India are chiefly built of the Mehweh or mouse tree, also called Galchekin (*vide* "Asiatic Researches," vol. i. p. 300). Another is the guler (Ficus Guleria), whose fruit grows upon the trunk. It is insipid. There is also the date-palm, and the cocoa-nut tree, from which the sounding cup of the guitar is made; and the tar or palm, from which an intoxicating liquor is obtained, and the leaves are used for Hindoo writings: there is the naranj and other kinds of orange: the lime, of which the boiled fibres are an antidote to poison: the citron or taranj, the sedaphal and the amratphal, which are both somewhat like the orange. (Here is a note by Humaioon: "His Majesty, whose abode is in Paradise—may Heaven exalt his splendour!—has not attended sufficiently to the amratphal. He had been addicted to strong liquors, and therefore could not relish the mild sweet taste of the amratphal.")

There is a great variety of flowers in Hindustan, of which I will mention only the jasûn, the kanir or kinar, both white and red (the oleander, the rhododaphne of the Greeks, *i. e.* rose-bay), the keurch, a flower of very sweet scent, and the white jasmine, which is more fragrant than our jasmine.

In other countries there are four seasons, but in India only three—summer, the period of rain, and winter. Every three years they add a month to the rainy season, and at the end of three more to the winter, and three years after to the summer. This is their mode of intercalation. Their names for the days of the week are Ṣanicher Saturday (Sheneeschar is Saturn), Aitwar, Sunday (Ait is Sun), Somwar, Monday (Soma is Moon), Mangelwar, Tuesday (Mangul is Mars), Budhwar, Wednesday (Budh, Fo, and Woden are the same), Brispatwar, Thursday (Beerhaspul is Jupiter), Sukrwar, Friday (Shookar is Venus).

Most of the natives of India are Pagans, and hold the doctrine of transmigration. Every tradesman follows the trade of his forefathers. In all the principal cities of Hindustan there is a class of persons called Gheriâli appointed to mark the time. A broad vessel of brass about the size of a tray, and about two inches deep, is suspended from a high place. Near it there is a cup with a hole in it. At day-break, when the cup is filled with water, the gherial strikes the gong once with a club, and on filling it a second time he strikes twice.

They have a very clear mode of calculation. They call a hundred thousand a lak, a hundred laks a krore, a hundred krores an arb, a hundred arbs a kerb, a hundred kerbs a nil, a hundred

nils a pedam, and a hundred pedams a sang. The fixing so high a mode of calculation proves the abundance of wealth in Hindustan (or the vanity of their kings and antiquaries).

Hindustan has little to recommend it in the way of pleasure. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of social delight, no genius, no politeness of demeanour. They have no good musk melons, no ice, no baths, no colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick. Instead of a candle you have a gang of dirty fellows called Deutis, who hold in their left hand a tripod, in one part of which there is a pliant wick, and in their right they hold a hollow gourd with a hole cut in it, through which they pour oil as the wick requires it. With this lamp the Deutis stand by the Emperor at night.

In their architecture they study neither elegance nor regularity. The chief excellence of Hindustan is the abundance of gold and silver. As to the climate, it is very pleasant during the rainy season. While the rains continue on the ground nothing can surpass the amenity of the atmosphere. But there is too much humidity. In the wet season the bow becomes useless, and coats of mail, books, furniture, and clothes, are all injured. The weather is very warm during Taurus and Gemini, but not by any means intolerable, as it is at Balkh and Kandahar. One

advantage in India is, that there are innumerable workmen of every trade and profession. In Agra I employed every day on my palaces six hundred and eighty stonecutters belonging to that city alone. The countries now subject to my sway from Behreh to Bahar yield a revenue of fifty-two krores.* On the 11th of May I began to divide the treasure. To Humaioon I gave twenty laks and a palace. To some Ameers I gave six, and to some ten laks. On the Afghans, Hazaras, and Arabs, I bestowed sums according to their rank, and upon every merchant and man of letters. I gave Kamran seventeen laks, fifteen to Muhammed Zeman Mirza, and the same to my sons Hindal and Askeri. I sent gifts to my friends and relatives in Samarkand, Khorasan, Kashgar, and Irak, and to the Begs and soldiers in our old territories. Offerings were also transmitted to the Sheikhs in Khorasan and Samarcand, and to Mecca and Medina. To every

* Fifty-two krores of rupees would be fifty-two millions sterling, and fifty-two krores of dams would be £1,300,000, which seems rather too small a sum. Mr. Erskine is inclined to believe that the computation was made in double dams, which would make £2,600,000. The revenue of Akbar toward the close of the century was nine millions; but the country was in a state of peace, and much improved by his ministers of finance, and in addition to the dominions of Baber he had Bengal, Malwa, Kandish, Berar, Gujrat, Ajmeen, &c.

man, woman, and child, in the kingdom of Cabul, slave or free, I sent a shahrokh, as an incentive to emulation.

Upon our entrance into Agra the inhabitants fled away in terror and aversion, so that we could not obtain either grain or provender. The governors of towns put their fortifications in a state of defence, and refused to obey me. Kasim Sambali was in Sambal, Nizam Khan in Biana, and the infidel Rajah Hassan Khan,* the primemover of all this insurrection, was in Mewat. Kunauj (the ancient capital), with all the region beyond the Ganges, was in the hands of rebellious Afghans. In that state of confusion, all the villages being hostile to me, the roads became impassable. The heat in that year was extremely oppressive, so that many soldiers dropped and expired suddenly, as if they had been blasted by the Simoom. On these accounts many of my Begs began to lose heart, and expressed a desire to return into Cabulistan. If the elder and experienced Begs had communicated their thoughts to me, there would have been no harm in it; but was it proper for the whole army, down to the very dregs, to give me their stupid opinions? At

* Probably a Hindoo convert to Mahometanism or he is the Apostate, v. 21d.

my departure from Cabul I raised many of low rank to the dignity of Begs, in the hope that they would follow me through fire and water, and it never entered my imagination that they would arraign my proceedings, and countervene every proposal that I made in council. And what could be more senseless than to be constantly repeating the same tale of complaint to one who saw the facts with his own eyes and had taken his resolution? I summoned all the Begs to an assembly, and told them that empire could not be obtained without war, that royalty and nobility could not exist without dependent provinces, and that by the labour of many years, after many hardships, journeys and battles, by the divine favour I had achieved the conquest of Hind. "And now what should make us flee from this empire with every mark of disappointment, humiliation, and discomfiture? Let no one who calls himself my friend ever make such a proposal. But if any one cannot endure to remain, let him depart." By this the malcontents were put to silence. Khwajeh Kilan, however, being very eager to go home, the presents were committed to his charge, and I conferred upon him the district of Ghazni and Gerdez, and the Sultan Masaudi Hazaras. From the time of quitting Cabul he had acted and spoken like a gai-

lant man; but he was now quite another person. At the moment of his departure he wrote these verses on the wall of a house in Delhi:

(TOORKI.)
If I pass the Sind safe and sound,
May shame take me if I ever again wish for Hind.

It was disrespectful to me to publish these lines while I remained in Hindostan; therefore I sent him this extemporaneous effusion:—

(TOORKI.)
Return a hundred thanks, O Baber; for the bounty of the merciful God
Hath given you Sind, Hind, and numerous kingdoms.
If unable to abide the heat you long for cold,
You have only to remember the frost of Ghazni.

At that period my army was reinforced by two or three thousand bowmen from the Doab. The fort of Sambal in Rohilcund was taken by my troops: but Nizam Khan held out still in Biana, and Muhammed Zeitun in Dulpoor. In July a few days after the end of Ramzan I gave a banquet in the imperial palace, in the grand hall, which is decorated with a peristyle of stone pillars under the central dome. On that occasion I presented Humaioon with a sword and belt, a tipchak horse with a gold saddle, and a shawl of gold cloth. The like shawls I gave to Chin Taimur, Mehdi Khwajeh, and Muhammed Zeman

Mirza, with swords, and daggers, and robes of honour. On the whole I gave away twenty-five sets of enamelled daggers, twenty-eight dresses, and two daggers enchased with jewels. There was a heavy fall of rain that day, and those who were seated outside were completely drenched.

Rana Sanka of Mewar* had sent an embassy to Cabul with professions of friendship, and engaged to march upon Agra, if I advanced against Delhi; yet during the whole of the campaign he did not make a single movement. After some time he committed an act of hostility against me by laying siege to Kandar, a strong fort to the east of Rintumbor, held by Hassan Makon, who had sent several envoys to me. It was impossible for me to relieve him, and after a few months he was compelled to surrender.

Humaioon at that time was despatched with an army against the rebellious lords in the east, who had occupied Kanouj with 40,000 men.

One of the chief defects of India is a want of canals for irrigation. I had intended, wherever I fixed my residence, to construct water-wheels, and form a stream to irrigate a pleasance. After my arrival at Agra I crossed the Jumna to select a spot for an elegant garden and palace, but the

* The Rana had gained eighteen victories over the Mahometan sovereigns of Malwa and Delhi, and was in a fair way to restore the ascendancy of Paganism.

whole country was so devoid of beauty, that I recrossed the river in disgust. But finding no better place I resumed my design, and began with making tanks and wells, and a Hall of Audience, and went on in the Indian manner, without any plan. After I had finished the private apartments, I made the baths, and I planted the rose and the narcissus in every garden. We were annoyed with three things in Hindustan, the heat, the wind, and the dust: all these evils might escape in the bath. The floor and roof of my bath is made of the red stone of Biana. During the hot wind the cold can be made so intense there, that a person will be rendered quite powerless by it. Khalifeh, Sheikh Zin, and others, after my example laid out gardens, with tanks and water-courses, on that side of the river, and the men of Hind, who had never seen any thing of the kind before, gave the name of Cabul to all that quarter.

I had commanded Ustad Ali Kuli to cast a large gun for the purpose of battering Biana and other fortresses: when all was ready for the operation, we went to see it. There were eight forges round the mould, and the metal flowed down into it by a channel from each of them, but it ceased before the mould was full, and Ustad in terrible distress of mind was near throwing himself into the liquid metal. We endeavoured to

soften the disgrace to him, and I gave him a dress of honour. When the gun was afterwards completed, it sent a ball 1600 paces.

On the 31st of October a messenger was sent with all speed to recall Humaioon and his army from the East; for Sanka, taking advantage of his absence, was advancing against me. About the same time Biana, Gwalior, and Dhulpoor, were all captured.

On Friday, the 21st of December, I had a very strange adventure. A few months before, being curious to see some of the dishes of Hindustan, I ordered all the cooks of Ibrahim to be called, and selected four out of fifty or sixty. The mother of Ibrahim, an ill-fated lady, hearing that I had eaten from the hand of a Hindoo, sent a person to call Ahmed the Taster, and gave a tola of poison to a female slave to be delivered to Ahmed, and another female was sent to see her deliver it. Ahmed persuaded a Hindoo cook by the promise of four pergunnahs to mix it with my food. Happily for me it was not thrown into the pot, for my tasters watched the Hindoo, and tasted the food in the pot; but they were inattentive while he was dishing the meat, and he threw the poison upon some slices of bread in a plate, and then laid some meat fried in butter upon the bread. After dinner I was taken ill, and, my suspicion being awakened, I ordered

some of the meat to be given to a dog. The dog became sick and swollen, and unwilling to move, but recovered the next day. Two young men also who had eaten of the meat were extremely ill after it.

(PERSIAN.)
A calamity fell upon me, but I escaped in safety.
Almighty God bestowed a new life upon me.

When the cooks were examined, all the facts came to light, as I have related. On Monday, being a court-day, all the grandees and viziers were summoned to the Divan. The two men and two women gave their evidence. The Taster Ahmed was ordered to be cut to pieces, and the cook to be flayed alive; one of the women was trampled to death by an elephant, and the other shot with a matchlock. The Queen-mother was taken in custody. She will one day meet with due retribution. Her ready money and effects were all given to Yunis Ali and Khwajeh Asad. I sent her grandson away to Cabul.

1527. In January messengers came from Mehdi Khwajeh to announce that Sanka, the Rana of Mewar, and Hassan Khan Mewati, were on their march from the west, and that it was needful to reinforce the garrison of Biana. Straightway I despatched a light force to harass

the Pagan army, and on the 11th of February I went forth to the holy war. The garrison of Biana having gone too far into the country was surprised and routed by the Rana. Every one that came to us from that fortress extolled the valour of the Pagans. A few days after, my advanced guard under Abdalaziz, was proceeding carelessly, when several thousand Pagans set upon them and made great slaughter. His horse-tail standard was taken, and it was with some difficulty that I rescued the division. Messengers then came in rapid succession to inform me that the enemy was at hand. There being a large tank on our left, I encamped there for the sake of the water. We placed the guns in front, about sixteen feet apart, and connected them with chains. Mustafa Rûmi arranged them after the Ottoman custom. I stationed him on the right with Humaioon to be out of the way of Ustad Ali, who was jealous of him. Where there were no guns, I caused the pioneers to dig a trench. Owing to the success of the Pagans near Biana, and their bold advance, there was some alarm among my troops, and that was heightened to a panic by the overthrow of Abdalaziz. To restore their confidence and strengthen my position, I set wooden machines, like tripods, connected by ropes of bull's-hide all along the ground where there were no cannon.* Above

twenty days were spent in that work. Meanwhile Kasim Hussain, a grandson of Sultan Hussain, arrived with five hundred men from Cabul. Among them was Muhammed Sheriff, the Astrologer; and at the same time Baba Dost the Butler, who had been sent to Cabul for wine, returned with three strings of camels, bearing some choice wine of Ghazni. The Astrologer instead of giving me any assistance loudly proclaimed that Mars was in the west, and that whoever came into battle from the opposite quarter would be vanquished. By that prophecy my soldiers were still more disheartened. On the 25th I mounted to survey my posts, and during the ride was struck with the reflection that I had always resolved to make an effectual repentance some time or other. I said to myself,

Oh, my soul,
How long wilt thou continue to take pleasure in sin?
Repentance is not unpalatable; taste it.
How great has been thy defilement from sin!
How long hast thou been the slave of thy passions!
How much of thy life hast thou thrown away!
Since thou hast set forth on a holy war,
Thou hast seen death before thine eyes for thy salvation.
He who will sacrifice his life to save himself,
Shall attain that exalted state which thou knowest.

I vowed never more to drink wine. Having sent for all the gold and silver goblets, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of

wine, purifying my mind. The fragments were given away among dervishes and the poor. The first who followed the example of my repentance was Asas, who likewise imitated me in the resolution to let his beard grow. In that and the following night three hundred of my Ameers and soldiers made vows of reformation. The wine, which we had before, was poured on the ground, and that which came from Ghazni was mixed with salt, to be made into vinegar. Where the wine was poured out, I caused a wain (a well, with steps into it) to be sunk, and an alms-house to be erected. I had previously made a vow to remit the temgha levied from Mahometans in the event of conquering the Pagans. Dervish Sarban and Sheikh Zin reminded me of this, and I replied, "You do right to remind me of my promise; I renounce the temgha in all my dominions." The following is a copy of the firman written by Sheikh Zin, to convey the intelligence to every place in my empire:—

"The Firman of Zehireddin Muhammed Baber.

"Let us return praise to the Forgiver, for that He is gracious to the penitent, and let us return thanksgiving to Him who directs sinners in the right way, and is bountiful to all who ask His blessing; and let us give praise to the best of created beings, Muhammed, and to his family

who are pure, and to his friends who are pure: and blessed be the mirror-like minds of wise men, in which the affairs of the world are seen in their true light, and which receive the brilliant jewel of this truth, that the human constitution is prone to the indulgence of passions which must be abandoned to obtain the favour of God. And this abstinence from wickedness is a boon only to be gained by the mercy of the most merciful King. He is gracious and will give it to all who ask. The purpose of writing this is, that whereas from the frailty of human nature, in compliance with the usages of kings, and the temptations of royal estate, and after the example of soldiers, many forbidden acts have been committed, we having heard from secret inspiration, and from the voice that cannot err, the blessed tidings of A. L. M.*, have repented with all our heart, and the Director of the way opened the door of His mercy. And having now for the first time become a Mussulman indeed, I have commanded that this holy war shall commence with the grand war against our evil passions. I have blazoned abroad the desire to

* It is confessed that no human intellect understands these mysterious letters. Some say they stand for Allah, Gabriel and Mahomed, the Author, Revealer and Preacher of the Koran.

abstain from wine, which was hidden in the treasury of my heart. And my servants for the glory of religion have dashed in pieces upon the ground of contempt all the goblets and vessels of gold and silver which adorned the assembly of wickedness. And many of those near the presence have renounced the use of ardent liquors, and hourly find their blessing and exaltation in this self-denial. And it is hoped that these acts will lead to the good fortune of the Nawab, whose undertakings are successful, the Emperor; and that after the conclusion of this enterprise, the Firman which the world obeys, may receive such perfect execution, that in the regions protected by our sway, God keeping watch over them, there may not be a creature who shall drink intoxicating liquors, nor employ himself in making them, or carrying them out, or bringing them in. For an offering on occasion of this repentance, the sea of royal bounty has arisen in swelling waves of liberality. A Firman has been issued, that in no city, road, or port, shall the temgha be levied in future from any Mahometan. And the duty of all, whether civil or military, Turks or Tajiks, Arabs or Hindoos, is to fulfil the intention of this decree, and employ themselves in the praise of Him that liveth for ever.

"Written by the high command. May the

Almighty make this Firman inviolable! Dated the 24th of the first Jemadi in the year 933."

At that time there was a general consternation. The Viziers, whose duty it was to give advice in season, and the Ameers, who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither uttered a manly word nor maintained a brave deportment. Khalifeh alone preserved his courage, and he was indefatigable in preparing for the struggle. At length seeing the despondency of my troops I convened a meeting of Ameers and officers, and thus addressed them: "Noblemen and soldiers: Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we pass away and are gone, God alone survives immutable. Whoever comes to the feast of life must drink the cup of death. How much better it is to die with honour than to live with infamy.

> With fame even if I die I am contented.
> Let fame be mine since my body is death's.*

The Most High God has been propitious in bringing on such a crisis that, if we fall in the field, we die the death of martyrs; if we survive, we rise victorious, and vindicate his cause. Let us then with one accord swear on the Holy Book that none of us will even think of turning his

* From the "Shahnameh" of Ferdausi.

face from this warfare, nor go from the scene of slaughter until his soul be sundered from his body." All with emulation took the oath according to my desire.

At that juncture my empire was in extreme danger and confusion. Raberi in the Doab was taken by Khan Lohani. Chandwar on the Jumna had fallen into the power of Kutb Khan; and Rustam Khan with some archers of the Doab had got possession of Koel in the same region. My generals evacuated Sambal and Canouj. Gualior was blockaded by the Pagans. Every day some evil tidings arrived. Many Hindoos in the army began to desert. Without regarding them on the 12th of March, the day of the Nouroz, I sent forward the guns and tripods moving on wheels,* with all other machines, followed by Ustad Ali and his matchlock men, who filled up the space between the guns and the infantry. After the ranks were formed I galloped along the line to animate the Begs and troops, giving my directions to each division how it was to fight. Then the whole army moved onward in order of battle for two miles. After we had encamped and fortified the position in front, I sent out a party to skirmish with the Pagans by

* Clarendon mentions artillery with moving barricadoes used in the civil war.

way of taking an omen. They brought away a number of heads, and that elevated the spirits of our men exceedingly. On the 16th we advanced nearly a kos further to a station prepared for us by Khalifeh. Many tents had been pitched when the enemy was reported to be in sight. I subjoin the official despatch of the battle, written by Sheikh Zin (or Zineddin, ornament of religion).

"Firman of Zehireddin Muhammed Baber Ghazi. All manner of praise be to God for that His promises are sure, and that He gives aid to His servants, and scatters the bands of all who give associates unto Him.* He is one, and besides Him there is nothing. O Thou who hast exalted the standard of Islam, and laid low the banners of idolatry, all praise belongeth unto Thee, the Creator of the world: and may the blessing of God light upon Muhammed, the greatest of holy warriors, and on his family who point out the true road, even till the day of judgment. For every mercy a thanksgiving is due, and every thanksgiving is followed by a mercy. Above all is praise due for a victory over the heathen. The Accomplisher, who never reproaches, He who is bountiful without cause, with the keys of victory has opened the

* *i. e.* Christians and Polytheists. "Whoever shall give a companion to God, God shall exclude him from Paradise." —KORAN.

door of bounty before the face of my desire, and the names of our soldiers have been inserted in the book of the illustrious warriors of the faith, and the flag of Islam has attained the highest pitch of elevation. These are the details of this glorious day. When our glancing swords illumined the region of Hind with the splendour of conquest, and the hand of Divine aid raised our standard in Delhi, Agra, Jonpur and Bahar; many tribes both of heathens and believers made their submission to us the fortunate Nawab. When certain men lifting up their heads like Satan in revolt gathered an army composed of some who wore the Brahminical cord, the yoke of perdition, and others who set thorns from the pangs of apostasy on the hem of their garments —now the sway of the Pagan was so wide, that the heathen banner floated in two hundred cities inhabited by true believers, whereby the destruction of mosques had taken place, and his power rose to such a height that, calculating according to the Hindoo custom, by which land yielding a lak furnishes one hundred horse, his dominions would send into the field 100,000. Mighty Rajahs and Hakims who had obeyed him in no former war now swelled his villanous array. Ten independent princes raised on high like smoke the boast of revolt. Silah ed din brought 30,000 horse, Raoul Oodi Sing Nagari

10,000, Medini Rai 10,000, Hassan Khan Mewati 12,000. Mahmud, the son of Sekander, though he had no government, assembled 10,000. The whole number of wretches, if an estimate be made from the capacity of their kingdoms, was 201,000. These Pagans and apostates united their hearts with the other black-hearted Pagans, like one darkness coming upon another, to war against the people of Islam. On Saturday the 16th of March our encampment was near KANWEH in the district of Biâna, hard by a hill that seemed fit to be a grave of the heathen. When the enemies of the faith approached confiding in their elephants, our warriors advanced in lines no less straight than the rows of fir-trees. Their array was of iron hue like the barrier of Sekander (the iron wall imagined to have been erected by Alexander at Derbend, west of the Caspian Sea, to repel Gog and Magog). In front of the army was a line of carriages chained together after the custom of the Ottomans (Room); the troops of Islam were in such immovable order that old Intelligence and our Heaven poured down praises on him that marshalled them. The pillar of the royal state, Nizam ed din Khalifeh, whose mind was in accordance with fate, gave his utmost assistance in forming this glorious parade. The station of imperial grandeur was in the centre, and near to him on

the right was the cherished brother Chin Taimur Sultan,* the pious Khwajeh Dost, the trusty counsellor Yunis Ali, the prop of the grandees Shah Mansur, the pure in attachment Abdalla Kitabdar, and the master of the ceremonies Dost Ishik Agha: and on his left was the Khilafat-descended Sultan Alaeddin, the son of Behlul Lodi; and the High Priest, the Lord Chief Justice and supporter of Islam, Sheikh Zin,† and Terdi Beg, who has been received into mercy, and Shir-efken, who has received the divine forgiveness,‡ and the Vizier of Viziers, Khwajeh Hussain. The right wing was commanded by the star of the sign of monarchy, Humaioon, the sun of the sphere of Khilafat § and royalty. On his right was Kasim, Gokultash, and the pillar of Viziers, Khwajeh Pehlewan, and the column of nobility, Suleman Agha, ambassador of Irak, and Hussain, ambassador of Sistan. On his left was Mir Hameh, of Syed race, and the buttress of the household troops, Muhammed Gokultash. And among the Ameers of Hind there was Umdet al Mulk, the

* Son of Ahmed Khan, and first-cousin of Baber.

† Abul Fazil calls him the Suddur.

‡ This is an instance of the delicacy and awe with which an Oriental mentions the death of a friend.

§ One of the titles of Akbar engraven on a coin was Khalif.

Khan Khanan Dilawer Khan, and Kuren, the Sheikh of Sheikhs. On the left wing was the Lord of high rank, Syed Mehdi, the protection of magistracy; and the exalted brother, Sultan Mirza, and the perfect in attachment, Abdalaziz, the master of horse; Kemal Khan, the son of Alaeddin, and Nizam Khan of Biana. There was a flanking party on both wings. It was about half-past nine in the forenoon when the wings of each army began the conflict, while the centres stood in counterview.* Our right being very fiercely assailed, Chin Taimur by my order reinforced it gallantly, and drove the ill-doomed heathen nearly to their centre. Then the wonder of our times, Mustafa Rûmi,† advanced from my centre and broke the hostile ranks with matchlocks, and cannon dark and hollow like the hearts of the Pagans. All the soldiers devoted to this holy war entered into the combat with delight, incited by the desire of lavishing their lives. Our left wing had to abide a furious onset, which it repelled with great slaughter. At that moment the flanking parties wheeled round upon the enemy's rear, and Mulla Mahmud, with the Prime Minister, Khalifeh, and

* Perhaps the artillery and movable defences of Baber did not cover more than his centre.

† In 1538 a Turk of Constantinople was commandant of artillery to the Sultan of Guzerat.

other nobles, was sent to their assistance. The battle being drawn out to a great length, I issued a mandate for the household troops who were behind the guns to sally forth; and straightway they darted from their station, and made the heads of the Hindoos fall from their bodies like stars from the sky; while the matchlock-men plied their shot briskly, and the miracle of the time, Ustad Ali, discharged balls large enough to tear a hill from its base. Then the firman was given to drag the guns forward, and the pure soul of the Emperor began to advance, which being seen by the troops on either wing, the whole ocean of that mighty host arose in a storm, and the fierceness of every monster in it was displayed. Like lightning the swords flashed in black clouds of dust rolling to and fro along the plain: the striker and the struck, the victor and the vanquished, were darkly mingled in the fray. The warriors of the faith fought with such ardent delight that praises were showered down upon them from the pure above, and the angels hovered around their heads. Our right and left drove the infidels into one mass of confusion. They made one last desperate charge upon my centre, but every one of them received an arrow in his breast. Then Victory, whose countenance bedecked with waving tresses had been concealed beneath a veil as the Bride of

Futurity came to greet the Present: the Paynims were scattered like teazed wool, and broken like the bubbles of wine. Many were slain, and became the food of crows and kites. Hassan Khan Mewati fell by a matchlock shot. Raoul Udi Sing, Prince of Dongerpoor, Rai Chanderbehan Chuhan, Dulpat Rai, and Gangu, measured the road from this house of clay to the pit of perdition. The event happened as it had been ordained of fate. And now praise be to God, who is all-hearing and all-wise. Written in the month of the latter Jemadi, in the year 933.*

After this victory I used the epithet Ghazi in the imperial titles. Sheikh Zin discovered the date of this victory in the words Fatehʃ bâdshâh Islâm (the victory of the Emperor of the faith).† We chased the enemy several miles with great slaughter: on reaching their camp I ordered Muhammedi and Abdalaziz to continue the pursuit. This was a piece of neglect. I ought to have gone forward myself. On my return Sheriff the astrologer came to congratulate me. I poured forth a torrent of abuse upon him, and

* The original of this despatch is exceedingly diffuse, filling nine quarto pages. Mr. Erskine says that the natives of India to whom he read it were always struck with admiration, while none but Turks liked the more simple style of Baber.

† The letters make 933.

having relieved my feelings in this way I gave him a lak, and bade him quit my dominions. On the hill near my encampment I raised a minaret of skulls. In three days we arrived at Biana. The want of water on the road and excessive heat prevented me from following Rana Sanka into his own territory.

(The Annals of Rajpootana record some facts omitted by Baber, but the two accounts agree in the main. Baber confesses that he remained three weeks blockaded in his entrenchments, and dared not advance at last without his movable palisadoes and guns chained together in front. Col. Tod, who blames the Rana of Cheetore for being so long inactive, says that he perhaps thought the Turks were safe in the toils and would suffer by delay. But while Baber lay encamped near the tank of Sigri, he bribed a Tuar chief, who was the medium of negotiation between him and Sanga. The treaty had reached that point that Baber being allowed to keep Delhi, should pay an annual tribute to the Rana, and that the boundary between them should be the yellow rivulet of Biana. Considering that Baber with a small army, at such a distance from his native kingdom, had to face an overpowering number of Rajpoots, the tale is not unlikely. With what valour his adversaries fought is attested by the long roll of noble

names among the slain. But it was vain for them to attack the impregnable defences of Baber: his artillery made havoc among the dense masses of their cavalry, and while the victory was yet doubtful, the Tuar chief who led their van went over to the Turks. Sanga was severely wounded in the battle, and retreated toward Mewat, having resolved never to re-enter Cheetore without victory. Baber did not attempt to follow him, and he died in the course of the same year.—Annals of Rajasthan, by Col. Tod, vol. i. p. 305. There is no mention of artillery or of archers in the army of Ibrahim, or in that of Sanga. If they had none, that may have been the cause of their defeat.)

1527. In April I sent Humaioon away to the government of Cabul. His soldiers were mostly from Badakshan, and had never served above two months at a time. Before the battle they were longing to return home. The territory of Mewat, which lies near Delhi, and yields a revenue of three or four krores (perhaps £150,000 sterling), had never been entirely subject to the Sultans of Delhi, perhaps owing to the hills in that country. In a few marches I reduced it to obedience.

Having heard much of the fountain of Pirozpoor, I went on the 14th to visit it, and took a

maajun. In the valley from which the water flows the oleanders were all in full bloom.

Sultan Muhammed Duldai, who had evacuated Kanouj, was unwilling to return thither, and received instead the government of Sirhend, with an allowance of fifteen laks. Kanouj with a salary of thirty laks (£7500), was given to Muhammed Sultan Mirza. Before the rainy season I commanded my officers to repair each to his own pergunna to prepare his accoutrements for the next campaign. At that time I heard that Humaioon had broken into the treasury at Delhi, and taken the contents by force. I never expected such conduct from him, and being very much hurt I wrote him a letter of severe reproof.

From the eleventh year of my age I had never kept the Ramzan in the same place. Having spent it last year at Agra, I determined to pass it this year at Sikri. On the night of my departure I sent a man with a supply of cards to Shah Hassan at Tatta. He was very fond of playing at cards. Soon after I was very ill for seventeen days. On the 24th of August, being on my way to Dhulpoor, I saw a huge rock of red stone near the mound of Sultan Sekander, and I ordered Ustad Shah to make a house, if possible, out of the solid mass. Between the

river Chumbul and Beri there were a number of white ebony trees. In September I was again ill for nine days. At Agra on the 13th of October I was seized with an ague, which continued upon me for twenty-five days. My thirst and want of sleep were very distressing. In January, 1528, I laid siege to Chanderi, a fortress bestowed by Sanka on Medini Rao, who had a garrison of 4000 Pagans. Our main attack was made upon a covered way leading from the citadel down to the water. Although the enemy hurled stones and flaming substances from above upon my soldiers, they scaled the wall at several points, and then the upper fort was won with less difficulty. When the Indians gave up the place for lost, they put all their wives and women to death, and, stripping themselves naked, rushed suddenly upon our men, who were startled at their onset, and the Pagans fighting with ungovernable fury drove them with some slaughter along the rampart. Another body of two or three hundred entered the house of Medini Rao, and slew each other,* rather than fall into our hands. Thus by the favour of God in less than an hour this celebrated fort was carried by assault. In the middle of the hill on which the citadel of Chanderi stands, there is a large tank

* So the Roman soldiers of Sabinus. "Ad unum omnes desperatâ salute se ipsi interficiunt."—Cæsar, v. 36.

which has been excavated out of the rock. The houses are all of stone, beautiful and commodious. Instead of tiles they are roofed with flagstones.

Hence I marched to put down a rebellion in the East. In the vicinity of Kanouj the rebel leaders, Biban and Bayezid, were posted on the opposite bank of the Ganges to resist my passage. While a bridge was being constructed, Ustad Ali brought a gun to bear upon the enemy. On the first day it was fired eight times, and on the second day sixteen. In about twelve days to the surprise of the Afghans the bridge was completed, and on Friday the 14th of March, 1528, a large division of the army having crossed, had a sharp action with the enemy. If I had sent the whole army over on the Saturday, it is probable that nearly all the Afghans would have been taken prisoners: but it came into my mind that Sunday corresponded with the Saturday of last year on which Rana Sanka was defeated, and therefore I waited a day. In the meantime the Afghans made their escape. On the 10th of May there was an eclipse of the sun, and therefore we kept a fast. On the 20th of September I set out for Gualior, carrying with me a medicine which Mulla Rafaa had made for sustaining the spirits. At Talbar I drank some of this cordial, and found it very unpalatable.

On the 26th I entered Gualior by the Elephant Gate, Hatipul. On the same night, on account of the ear-ache, and because it was moonshine,* I took opium. The next day I vomited very much, but in spite of this I visited the palaces of Bikermajeet and Maun Sing. They are built of hewn stone in several portions without any plan, yet they are very magnificent. That of Maun Sing is overlaid with white stucco in front. In some of the buildings there are four stories. One part of this palace is an edifice with five large domes covered with plates of copper gilt, and around them a number of small domes according to the style of Hindostan. The walls are inlaid with figures of plantain-trees. In the tower of the eastern division is the Hatipul. Immediately in front of it is the figure of an elephant with two drivers upon it, all in stone. Next I visited the college founded by Rahimdad, and his garden, in which there were fine red oleanders. The kinars of this country resemble the peach-blossom. I brought away some red kinars from Gualior for my gardens at Agra. Near the garden of Rahimdad there is a grand mosque and a

* The Indians and Persians believe that moonshine is cold. Virgil uses the expression "roscida luna," as if the moon were the cause of dew. Agreeably to this the moon is called by a writer of the Elizabethan age "our Lady of moisture."

still more lofty idol temple. This edifice and the fort are visible from Dhulpoor. Near Gualior, in a valley on the west, there is a place called Adwa, defended by ramparts sixty feet high on one side. On three sides there is a perpendicular cliff of red stone, in which I was scandalized to see sculptured in the rock idols of colossal size entirely naked. I gave order for all to be destroyed.

1528. On the 29th a message came from Bikermajeet, the second son of Rana Sanka, that he would deliver up Rantumbor, for which I gave him Shemzabad as an equivalent. He also sent me the splendid coronet and golden girdle of Sultan Mahmud, the sovereign of Mandoo, who was taken captive by the Rana.

I went to a banquet prepared for me in the garden of Rahimdad, who presented me after dinner with a peshkesh to the amount of four laks in money and effects. Then I visited a waterfall about twelve miles off, where we sat down and took a maajun. Near this spot we saw the ebony tree, which the natives call Tindoo. (It may have been owing to weakness caused by the sudden disuse of wine, that Baber after the battle of Kanweh, although the empire was not in a settled state, spent much of his time in visiting gardens, and palaces, and beautiful scenery. He seems to have indulged

himself at times with a maajun, but never broke his resolution of abstaining from wine. The decline of his health will also account for the imperfection of his narrative.) In October the treasures of Delhi and Agra being expended, I added 30 per cent to the taxes, it being necessary to furnish equipments for the army, and gunpowder, and pay for the artillery and matchlock-men. In November a Hindustani runner brought letters from Kabul with intelligence that a son was born to Humaioon, and that Prince Kamran had wedded his maternal cousin. They also contained the welcome tidings that Prince Tahmasp,* the sovereign of Persia, had gained a glorious victory over the Uzbeks in spite of their wizards, who endeavoured to enchant his army.

My northern dominions were then freed from alarm, and my triumph was complete in all parts of Hindustan, over the insurgents in the east and in the west, as well as over the Pagans. On the 6th of November I was taken ill while at prayers in the Mosque, and two days after I was seized with a fever and shivering. On the night of the 10th I resolved to translate into

* Shah Ismael died in 1523. Tahmasp at this time was only fifteen, therefore Baber calls him Shahzadeh, the Prince. Asp is horse in Persian. It is in many ancient names, as Hystaspes.

verse the tract written in honour of the parents of the venerable Khwajeh Obeidulla of Samarcand, in the hope that his reverence might receive my poem graciously and remove the disorder, as he had delivered the writer of the Kasideh from palsy. I composed on an average 52 couplets daily. Whenever I have had the disease before it has lasted a month or more. By the mercy of God through the influence of the Khwajeh the violence of my disorder abated in a few days. On the 27th I wrote the following letter to Humaioon:

"To Humaioon, whom I long to see again, health. Thanks be to God, who has given you a child, and to me a new object of affection. May the Almighty continue to grant to you and me the enjoyment of this happiness. You have called him Alcman. May the Lord prosper you in this. You who are seated on a throne must know that some pronounce it Alaman, 'the Protected,' and others Ilaman, 'protected by men.' There are but few names preceded by Al (the). May God make him happy both in his name and constitution.

"I have ordered Kamran and the Begs at Cabul to join you in an expedition against Hissar, Merv, or Samarcand, as may be deemed expedient, hoping that through the mercy of God you may triumph over the enemy. Now is

the time for you to encounter hardship and danger, and to exert your prowess in arms.

> The world belongs to the laborious.
> In the eye of wisdom every condition
> May find repose except royalty.

If through the divine favour you subdue Balkh and Hissar, the latter shall remain in the charge of your men, while those of Kamran have Balkh. Remember to act handsomely by your brother. You know that you always receive six parts, and he five. He is a correct and worthy young man. I have some quarrels to settle with you. For two or three years past none of your courtiers have paid me a visit, and my last messenger did not come back to me for a twelvemonth. In many of your letters you complain of separation from your friends. It is unworthy of a prince to make such a complaint.

(PERSIAN.)

If you are fettered by circumstances, submit to them;
If you are independent, follow your own fancy.

There is no greater bondage than that of a king, and it ill becomes him to complain of what is inevitable.

"In compliance with my desire, you have indeed written me letters, but you certainly never read them over; for you would have found

it impossible to decipher them, and would have thrown them aside. I contrived with much difficulty to comprehend your last letter. It is exceedingly confused and crabbed: who ever saw a charade in prose? Your spelling is not quite correct. You certainly do not excel in letter-writing. You make use of far-fetched expressions out of a desire to shew your acquirements, and in consequence your meaning is obscure. If you would use plain words they would give less trouble, both to yourself and to the reader. You are now about to commence a very important enterprise. You should therefore consult the most prudent of your nobles. If you desire to gain my approbation, do not waste time in parties, but rather indulge in liberal conversation and frank intercourse with all around you. Do not allow your brother and the Begs to come or stay away at their own discretion, but summon them twice every day into your presence, and consult them about any thing that may occur. Bestow your confidence on Khwajeh Kilan. While I was in Cabul, I transacted many important affairs, and gained signal victories, on which account considering it as fortunate, I have chosen it for an imperial domain. Neither of you must aim at the possession of it. Behave with extreme courtesy to Sultan Weis. Do your utmost to maintain the discipline and effici-

ency of the army. Once more I repeat my earnest wishes for your health. Written on Thursday, the 13th of the first Rebi (November 26th, 1528)."

On the 13th of November I went to a banquet at the house of Sultan Muhammed Bakshi. The streets were spread with rich stuffs; and he presented me with a gift in money and effects equal to two laks. We retired from the dining-room into another apartment, where we indulged in a maajun.

On the 2d of December I convoked a council of Mirzas, Sultans, and Ameers, and after hearing their opinions, I determined to march somewhere or other this year at the head of my army, but first to send my son, Askeri, to assemble the Amirs and Sultans beyond the Ganges, with all their forces. On the 12th I gave him a dagger set with gems, and a complete dress of honour. He also received from me the standard, the horse-tail, the kettle-drum, a stud of Tipchak horses, ten elephants, a string of camels, a string of mules, a royal equipage and camp furniture. I gave Mulla Dudu a pair of buskins decorated with rich buttons, and thrice nine vests to his other servants.

On the 17th I directed Chikmak Beg by a writing under the royal hand and seal, to measure the distance from Agra to Cabul, and at

every nine kos to erect a minaret, twenty-four feet high, and a post-house for six horses, at every tenth kos,* and to fix the allowance of provision for the couriers, grooms, horses, and master of the inn, *to be supplied from the pergunnah.*

On the 19th I gave a sumptuous entertainment in the garden. My seat was in an octagon pavilion recently erected. On my right, at the distance of ten feet, sat Bugha Sultan, Askeri, the family of the venerable Khwajeh, with other visitors from Samarcand, the dependants of the Khwajeh, readers of the Koran, and Mullas. On my left, at the same distance, were Muhammed Zeman Mirza,† Syed Rûmi Sheikh, Syed Rafia, and Sheikh Shehabeddin Arab. The Persian, Uzbek, and Hindoo Ambassadors were present under separate canopies. Before the dinner was served up, all the Khans, Sultans, and Emirs, offered congratulatory presents of red, white, and black money, coloured and white clothes, and other articles. While the men were bringing in the presents, there were camel and ele-

* This act of Baber was imitated and surpassed by Sheer Shah, a few years after. From Bengal to the Indus, a distance of 2000 miles, he built caravansaries, and sank a well at every kos.

† Grandson of Sultan Hussain. He rebelled against Humaioon, and his sons against Akbar.

phant fights, and wrestling matches, and rams butting, for our entertainment. When the dinner was ready, Khwajeh Abdal and Khwajeh Kilan were invested with muslin robes, and five foreign ambassadors received muslin robes with handsome buttons. A stone of gold was weighed with the silver weights, and a stone of silver with the gold weights, and given to Dosta Khwajeh and the two great ambassadors who were servants of Kochim Khan, sovereign of the Uzbeks.* The gold stone contained 500 mishkals, which is one sîr of Kabul measure. The silver stone was half that weight. Presents of gold and silver were likewise made to the ambassadors, and to the servants of the Khwajeh. To the veterans of Andejan, who had wandered with me in the most wretched period of my life before my last departure from Ferghana, I gave rich dresses of honour, and raiment of gold and silver. When the dinner was placed, the tumblers and rope-dancers, and Hindoo jugglers, who surpass all those of our countries, exhibited their feats. In the evening a great quantity of gold, silver, and copper coin was scattered, and there was a huge uproar.

1529. On the 2d of January I held a conference with the Toorki nobles and those of

* He had just written to Humaioon to drive the Uzbeks out of Balkh and Hissar.

Hind, in my private apartment. It was observed that the Bengalis had sent an ambassador, and were quiet, and if I did not march against them, there was no other country on that side of India rich enough to satisfy the troops, whereas on the west,

(Toorki Verse.)

The country is rich, the natives Pagan, and the road short.*

It was therefore determined to march westward. But on the 14th I heard that Mahmud, the son of Iskander, had taken Bahar, and therefore I went in that direction. On the 23d Ismail Meta, ambassador from Bengal, brought his peshkesh, and paid his respects according to the usage of Hindostan. For the purpose of making a reverence he took his stand a full arrow-shot off. Then he retired, and was arrayed in a dress of honour, and being introduced into the presence, in conformity with our ceremonial he made three genuflexions before he delivered the letter of Nasret Shah and the presents. In February I sent gifts to Humaioon on the birth of his son, and to Kamran on his marriage and to Hindal an enamelled dagger and an alphabet of the Baberi characters. To Humaioon I sent copies of trans-

* Επι τινας δε στρατευειν προσηκει τους αμα μεν ευσεβειν βουλομενους, αμα δε του συμφεροντος ενθυμουμενους; ουκ επι τους και φυσει πολεμιους και πλειστα μεν αγαθα κεκτημενους;—Isocrates.

lations and of original poems written by me in India. To Kamran I wrote advising him to cultivate politeness, and told him that he was to be governor of Multan. I also wrote this letter to Khwajeh Kilan:

"To Khwajeh Kilan health.

"My solicitude to visit my western dominions is great beyond expression. The affairs of Hindustan have at length been reduced to some order, and I trust that through the favour of God all will be completely settled; and then I shall begin my journey to your quarter. How is it possible that the delights of that land should ever be erased from my heart? Above all how can one who has made a vow of abstinence, forget the melons and grapes of that pleasant region? A single musk-melon was recently brought to me. While cutting it up I was strongly affected with the sense of loneliness and exile from my native land, and I could not help shedding tears while I was eating it. You remark that Cabul is in a state of confusion. It is my deliberate opinion that where there are seven or eight chiefs, nothing stable can be expected. Therefore I have sent for my sisters and the other ladies of my family, and have resolved to make Cabul a part of my empire.* In future, if

* It seems that separate districts were assigned for their maintenance.

the castle be in disrepair, or the people in distress, or the granaries and the treasury be empty, the fault will be in the viceroy. You will look to all these things, and order the Grand Mosque to be repaired, and the expence to be defrayed out of the tax levied on gardens and orchards. The caravansaries and baths must also be completed. The water-mound of Ghuzni must likewise be made good. Where the river of Tutundereh passes the foot of an eminence you will plant some beautiful trees, and form several orchards. All around the orchards let there be shrubs and fragrant flowers. You will attend my sisters and the other ladies as far as the Nilab 'blue water.'

"I mentioned in a letter to Abdalla, that I found much difficulty in reconciling myself to the desart of penitence, but that I had the resolution to persevere.

(Toorki Verse.)

I am distressed since I renounced wine.
I am confounded and unfit for business.
Regret leads me to penitence;
Penitence leads me to regret.

I wrote this last year, when my longing for wine and parties of pleasure was excessive, so that I sometimes shed tears in my vexation. In the present year, praise be to God, the main trouble is over, which I ascribe chiefly to the occupation

of translating into verse. Let me advise you to adopt a life of abstinence. I conclude with every good wish."

On the 1st of March intelligence came to me at head-quarters, that Mahmud had gathered together 100,000 Afghans, and had occupied Benares. The rebels laid siege to Chunar, but on hearing of my approach they were panic-struck, and fled in every direction.

On the 7th I embarked in a boat, and soon came in sight of Ilsan Taimur and Toktch Bugha Sultan, who dismounted for the purpose of performing the kornish to me. By my desire they entered the boat, and Bugha performed some of his enchantments, upon which there came wind and rain. The violence of the wind induced me to eat a maajun.

On the 9th in riding along the river side I came unwittingly on a part which had been hollowed by the current beneath. The moment it began to give way, I leapt off my horse to the solid ground, and he fell into the stream. On the same day I swam the Ganges in thirty-three strokes. Every river that I have met with I have crossed by swimming. On the 10th my army began to cross the Jumna in 420 boats, and we marched toward Bahar in the hope of surprising Mahmud. On the 2d of April our camp was on the bank of the river Kermnas. The pious Hindoos

went across the Ganges to avoid that river; for they believe that if the water of it touches a man, his religion is lost. On the 5th I took opium. Sultan Mahmud, on hearing of my advance, made a precipitate retreat. I fixed the revenue of Bahar, payable into the private treasury, at one krore and twenty-five laks (probably 64,000*l.*).*

The Bengal army under Kherid being at the confluence of the Ganges and Gogra, I resolved to force a passage across the latter. It was arranged that Ustad Ali Kuli should plant his Feringi pieces and swivels on an eminence, and maintain a constant fire with his match-lock men from the same post, while Mustafa Rumi did the same on the Bahar side of the Ganges. The army was to pass over in six divisions. On the 4th of May, having crossed the Ganges, we pushed forward against the Bengalis. On that day Ustad Ali sank two vessels with the shot of his Feringi. (The name Feringhi implies that the Turks obtained their artillery from Europe. When heavy guns were first used in India, Europeans or Turks were engaged to serve

* Baber says that on the 17th of May seven or eight thousand Lohani Afghans having come in quest of employment, he set apart one krore of the Imperial revenue (Khalseh, the same word which Mr. Erskine interprets before the revenue payable into the private treasury), to keep them in good humour.

them. In the memoir of the Chevalier Bayard it is asserted that the Emperor Maximilian "had 600 pieces of ordnance on wheels, the least whereof was a falcon, and six large bombards of brass, which were loaded with balls of stone, and could only play four times a day at the utmost." This was in 1508. It does not seem that either in Europe or in the East there was any want of quickness in discharging the smaller guns. According to the loyal servant of Bayard more than twenty thousand shot were fired against the walls of Padua in a few days, "and the men of the town returned the obligation twofold." If we may believe the same authority, the skill of Ustad Ali was rivalled by the Duke of Ferrara, "a worthy prince, that understands almost all the seven liberal sciences, together with many mechanical arts, such as casting artillery, with which he is as well provided as any prince his peer in the whole world: moreover he knows very well how to play the same, and to make the carriages and balls." Pope Julius also on one occasion acted as commandant of artillery. Usun Hassan, the King of the Turcomans of the White Sheep, in his engagement with the army of Mahomet the Second, in 1474, would have gained the victory, had it not been for the Turkish ordnance, which suddenly opened upon his troops. Shah Ismael asked the Venetians to send him men skilled in

casting guns; but they were then contending with the League of Cambray, and were afraid to offend the Sultan of Turkey by aiding the Persians. It seems to have been owing to a long train of field-pieces, fastened together by a chain, that Selim triumphed over Shah Ismael, in 1514. His victory in Syria may be ascribed to the same cause. About the year 1530 the Persians are said to have learnt the use of artillery from the Portuguese, and again at the close of that century from Sir Anthony Shirley and his brother. At the battle of Mohacs in 1526, when the Hungarians were defeated by Soliman, most of the Turkish pieces were served by Christian gunners.)* Almighty God preserved me on the following night from being assassinated by a Hindoo, who came to the vessel in which I was sleeping.

Let the sword be brandished as it may,
It cannot divide a vein without the permission of God.

On the 5th in the afternoon Ustad Ali discharged a very large ball once, and fired the Feringi pieces several times. The Bengalis are famous for skill in artillery.† On that day they

* In the 17th century, Kanghi, the Emperor of China, was enabled by the aid of a Jesuit to have cannon made.

† It is not easy to account for this, except on the supposition that some Portuguese had given them instruction.—W. E.

did not aim at any particular spot, but fired at random. On the 6th Ishan Taimur distinguished himself. He crossed the river in a boat with thirty or forty men, their horses swimming by the side. The soldiers of Lahore and India passed over, some by swimming, and others on bundles of reeds. Ishan, as soon as he landed on the other side, put to flight a troop of Bengalis in gallant style, and Bugha (the Enchanter) fell upon them sword in hand. The Lord Chamberlain also proved his mettle, and in a short time the Bengalis were completely worsted. On the 22d I assigned to Ishan Taimur an income of thirty laks from the Pergunnah of Namul, and to Bugha thirty laks from another Pergunnah, for which they knelt in homage to me. On the 19th the rainy season being near, and my terms having been accepted, I concluded a peace with the sovereign of Bengal. On the 3d of June I purified myself in the Perseru river. We caught a number of fish by fixing lights to a frame-work, which was moved along the water. On the 7th although the weather was not favourable, a few persons caught sight of the new moon, and bore testimony to the fact before the kazi. This fixed the end of the month, (*i. e.* the end of Ramzan,* and the commencement of Shawal.)

* "The month of Ramadan shall ye fast, in which the Koran was sent down from Heaven."—KORAN.

On the 23d I reached the Garden of the Eighth Heaven at Agra, where I had the pleasure of hearing that my vines had yielded fine grapes: and a few melons from a bed prepared by a native of Balkh had been kept for me. I was delighted to produce such melons and grapes in Hindostan. On Sunday I met Maham (the mother of Humaioon — Maham is a familiar term). On Thursday the 8th of July, being a grand court-day, presents were brought to her and Humaioon in the Great Hall of Audience. On the same day we despatched a hundred and fifty porters to bring melons and other fruit from Cabul.

On the 11th we learned that Sheikh Sherif, at the instigation of Abdalaziz, or from attachment to him, had written letters ascribing tyranny to me, and acts which I never committed, and having compelled the Imams to affix their names to these letters, sent copies of them to several cities in the expectation of exciting them to revolt; and that Abdalaziz also had uttered very unbecoming language. On these accounts I directed Kamber Ali Arghûn to apprehend Sheikh Sherif and the Imams of Lahore, as well as Abdalaziz, and to bring them into the Presence.

On the 26th of July I gave an audience of leave to the Kezzelbash ambassador, and pre-

sented him with the sum of 200,000 tankehs on his departure to Persia. (The tenki was a silver coin worth about 5d. W. E.)

About that time Syed Medhi arrived from Gualior with the tidings that Rahimdad had revolted. Upon that Khalifeh wrote him a letter of advice. On the 12th of August my son-in-law, Mehdi Khwajeh, came from Etawa. On the 7th of September Sheikh Muhammed Ghus came out of Gualior with Shehab ed din Khosrou to intercede for Rahimdad. As this man was a humble and saintly personage, I forgave on his account the offence of Rahimdad, and sent officers to receive the surrender of Gualior. 1529.

Here the Memoir ends.

During fifteen months after this Baber declined in health, and Humaioon, wishing to be near the seat of empire, of his own accord left Badakshan under the charge of Sultan Weis Mirza, and started from Cabul. Upon which the Khan of Kashgar invaded Badakshan, and it was reported to Baber that he had subjugated the whole of it. This intelligence preyed upon his mind, and aggravated his disease. He ordered Khalifeh to attempt the recovery of that province; but that nobleman found a pretext for remaining at court. Humaioon also declined

the mission, saying that affection for his father forbade him to be so far away. When he first came to Agra, though he left his province without leave, he was received kindly by his father: his offence was overlooked, and after some time he was sent to the government of Sambal. It is probable that the mother of Humaioon suggested to Baber the idea of sending Khalifeh away to Badakshan, and that owing to her influence also Baber treated Humaioon leniently on his arrival. After he had resided at Sambal for six months he fell into a dangerous illness, and in that state he was conveyed on the water by order of his father to Agra. All hope of his life was given up, when Abul Baka, a man venerated for his knowledge and piety, remarked to Baber that in such a case the Almighty had sometimes deigned to receive the most valuable possession of a man as a ransom for the life of his friend. Baber exclaimed that next to the life of Humaioon his own life was what he most valued, and that he would devote it as a sacrifice for his son. The noblemen around him entreated him to revoke the vow, and give the diamond obtained at Agra, reputed to be the most valuable on the earth, since ancient sages had said that it was the dearest of our earthly possessions that was to be dedicated to Heaven. But he declared that no jewel was equal in value to his

life. He walked thrice round the body of the dying prince, a solemnity similar to that used in sacrifices and heave-offerings; then retiring he prayed earnestly to God, and after some time was heard to say, "I have borne it away, I have borne it away." The Moslem historians affirm that Humaioon immediately began to recover, and Baber proportionally to decline. Humaioon was young, and the expectation of death would accelerate the progress of disease in his father. The last instructions of the Emperor were communicated to Khalifeh, Kamber Ali, and other Begs, commending Humaioon to their protection. He earnestly besought the Prince to be kind to his brothers. Humaioon promised to act as he desired, and kept his promise faithfully. Baber expired at the Charbagh near Agra in the forty-eighth year of his age, on the 26th of December, 1530. His body was conveyed in compliance with his desire to Cabul, where it was buried in the hill that bears his name. The grave is marked by two upright pieces of white marble, and in front of it there is a small mosque in a simple and chaste style of architecture. Near it are interred the remains of his wife and children. All around there is a profusion of anemones and other flowers.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

LIFE AND TIME OF BABER.

Baber is said to have been above the middle stature, very athletic, expert in using the sword and the bow, and accustomed to take delight in every rural and martial pastime. Nothing is told by him of his education under the venerable Moulana, or the vicious Mazid Beg, except that after the death of Omar Sheikh he was preserved by the Moulana from indulgence in wine. But his character was quickly developed in scenes of triumph and disaster. In him and his ancestors the love of war was a boiling passion, that delighted in the most perilous adventures, and overpowered all the ties of blood. At the age of fourteen he had an eye upon Samarcand, and hearing of the civil war there between his cousins, as a young pike before it is a span long will begin to dart in the water, he set off in haste and laid siege to that city in concert with Ali and

with Masaud Mirza, each of them desiring to win it for himself. From that time he regarded the kingdom as his own. Before he was twenty he made three more attempts upon Samarcand, and traversed every part of Ferghana either in flight or to assail an enemy. Until the last year of his life he never kept the Ramadan twice in the same place. The vicissitudes of his fortune were but a part of the confusion then prevailing in Central Asia. Here and there in high sequestered vales there might be some degree of rustic happiness. Some few spots were perhaps charmed with poetry, music, and horticulture, and tranquillized by Mahometan piety. It is a delight to imagine, and still more a delight to contemplate with the eye of belief, some family living in virtuous harmony, resembling what is the fairest object to be seen on a bank in winter beneath a fringe of ferns and overhanging roots, a cluster of cup lichens, all of a light green hue, bright rather than pale, an emblem of pure and cheerful unity, and the hopes that look upward to receive the bounty of Heaven. Such a group might have been found here and there in the abode of a Syed or Moulla. But the scene at large was nothing but rapine and treason, war and revolution. Regal power was like the sand of an Arabian desert, alternately heaped and levelled by the wind. Where polygamy and

despotism exist there is no fixed rule of succession to the throne. Therefore the nobles and soldiery feel rather loose in their allegiance: frequency of conquest will destroy both loyalty and patriotism: and where the sovereign differs in religion from his people, they will readily combine with foreigners of the same creed. Mahometanism is so strong a bond of union, that even men of rank in the East are reconciled to poverty and exile by the pleasure of being among true believers. When the whole power of a state is vested in one person, upon his death the state will appear to lie prostrate. Even the faint-hearted Sultan of Tashkend, on the demise of Mahmud Mirza, conceived the hope of triumphing over the youthful Baiesanghar. At Constantinople it was a custom of the Janisaries upon a vacancy of the empire to pillage all Jewish and Christian merchants, and not to take an oath of allegiance to the new Sultan, until he had sworn by his head to pardon their outrages. On the decease of Soliman the Magnificent in 1566, near Sigeth in Hungary, the Grand Vizier fearing an insurrection of them set him upright in a horse-litter, and thus he was conveyed all the way to Belgrade, the army believing that he was ill of gout.

One of the main features of Asiatic history from a remote period before the Christian era,

is, that both the civil and military administration of provinces have been committed to Viceroys and Princes of the blood. The people are at the mercy of these personages, who are tempted to aim at independence, whenever they are irritated or menaced by the sovereign, and even at the throne itself, when he is feeble. Add to this that whoever holds the sceptre of despotism for a minor, whether a Regent Uncle, or Queen Mother, or Prime Minister, may be inclined to retain it. Sometimes the crown is bequeathed to a younger son, because his mother is a favourite, or is of higher lineage than the other queens. Sometimes the officers of the haram disregard the will of their dying master, and choose a weak prince, who will let them have their way. In Persia the title of the eldest son became of slight account after Abbas the Great established the custom of rearing all young princes within the seraglio. The Roman emperors were often chosen by the armies which they commanded. Sometimes the people have to deplore, as the Chinese in the ninth century, the humiliation of being subject to the combined influence of women and eunuchs. Spain during a part of the 17th century was governed by a monk, confessor to the Queen. One of the worst evils of despotism is felt in the royal family itself. It has been recorded of East India

sovereigns that their paternal affection dies away when their chiidren arrive at manhood, so that instead of being a comfort to them in their old age, the young princes are objects of jealousy, mistrust, and hatred. There are never wanting men who have skill enough to engage them in parties and even in plots. Hence it often happens that a veteran monarch, feeling no love for his sons, can only find vent for natural affection in the company of his grand-children, and according to one of the oriental poets he is the more fond of them because they are likely to avenge him through hatred of their parents. There are many tales of parricide in the histories of Oriental dynasties. In the year 1512 the Sultan of Constantinople having fixed upon his second son to reign after him, the Ottoman empire was convulsed, and he was himself dethroned and poisoned by Selim his youngest son. It seems to have been a common practice of kings to put their nearest relatives to death for their own security, and to prevent the slaughter of thousands in civil war.

In Central Asia during the time of Baber the power of the crown was far from absolute. His prerogatives consisted in the appointment of his ministers and the enlistment of troops, as many as could be fed by plunder and game, and the revenue, whatever that might be. In Cabul, as

in Persia at the present day, the country people supplied contributions in kind, and the money derived from land and articles of commerce, both there and in India, was inconsiderable.* He could also give and take away the rank of Beg, and in the frequent recurrence of war and treason there was a constant hope for his nobles of obtaining governments and estates. They were summoned to deliberate on every enterprise of importance, and were all free to countervene his opinion. But they were not free to drink wine while he abstained from it, nor could they always give an entertainment without asking his leave. The Begs collectively exercised the influence of fashion upon their sovereign. His pleasure and reputation depended much on his bounty and complaisance to them. He did not attempt to become independent of their esteem by amassing a treasure. They were the main instruments of his ambition, and therefore it was a prime object with him through life to gratify their inclinations. In the expeditions through various parts of Cabul he was like a captain of moss-troopers, except that he could inflict capital punishment. Neither there nor in Ferghana did he owe much influ-

* The duty paid by the inhabitants of one county in England for tobacco is probably far greater than the whole sum levied in the Punjaub for the treasury of Baber.

ence to priority of birth. In Khorasan the claim of primogeniture was equally disregarded. Sultan Hussain indeed was honoured for his descent from an elder son of Timour, but he was himself a second son, and at his death the sovereignty was divided between Badia ez Zeman and Mozaffer. On the decease of Mahmud Mirza a younger son was elevated to the throne of Samarcand. When a monarch died without issue, the election of a successor rested with the nobles, and the doctors of the law; and however desirous they might be to select one of his kindred, their choice was not determined by seniority. They were true liegemen to the royal family, but not to the eldest son more than the rest. It is the same in Arabia; and this feeling of attachment to one race is so powerful in the present age among the military clans of Persia, that none of them will obey a governor appointed by the king, unless he be one of themselves. For this reason an infant has been often carried into the field of battle, because the soldiers will not fight for any other lord. Therefore it need not excite our surprise that Humaioon was sent at the age of thirteen to the government of Badakshan. Baber was only twelve at his accession, and from his narrative it appears that he very soon exercised the full powers of royalty.

In one instance of a disputed crown it has

been seen how powerful were those Khwajehs, or religious teachers, who were in possession of very ample domains, and were revered for their sanctity by a number of disciples ready to yield a blind obedience to their will. Many cities, both in India and Maweralnahar, have been lost and won through their influence. One of the follies of the East is the veneration that has ever been paid to devotees, who live in idle rumination. But these were men of a different stamp. Whether under the name of Khwajeh, Sheikh, Syed, or Moulla, they engrossed nearly all the knowledge of their time, and their power was felt in every department. Moulana Kazi seems to have had the literary and religious instruction of Baber. Another Khwajeh was governor of the princess, his eldest sister. 'The grand astrologer at the court of Timour' was Moulana Abdalla. Moulana Kotubeddin levied a tax of 300,000 dinars on the people of Fars on pretence of making a present to that monarch. Some of these learned men practised as physicians, and they were commonly employed as ambassadors. Both at Andejan and Heri they held by inheritance the office of Sheik ul Islam. History proves how beneficially they exerted themselves to alleviate the miseries of war. At Delhi in the thirteenth century the intercession of the Muftis and Kazis with the Emperor Bulbun, put an

end to his cruel executions. In the latter part of the fourteenth century there was an occasion when the Ameers of Timour, having vainly endeavoured to allay his fury against the people of Georgia, appealed to the doctors of the law; and they declaring in the imperial council on the side of mercy, Timour made a sign to the Sheikh Ibrahim, that out of respect to their opinion he would command a cessation of the pillage and massacre. When a city was attacked by an overwhelming force, they were commonly of the party that was inclined to capitulate. At times they could shew a noble spirit of self-devotement. One of the most memorable passages of Oriental story is the siege of Khwarism in 1221 by Octai, the son of Zinghis. After a vast effusion of blood the Mogul prince being on the point of completing the destruction of that city, sent to Sheikh Nejemeddin, the supreme minister of the Moslem religion there, an offer of permission to retire from the place unmolested with a thousand of his friends. But he refused to save himself unless all the Mahometans were spared, saying, "I have been united with them in this city by the ties of religion for seventy years, and I will not be parted from them in death."

Many absolute monarchs have shewn a disinclination to employ their chief nobles in high

offices of state; and it may be believed, that without reflecting much on the advantage of balancing their power by that of the lawyers and divines, Baber was glad to engage these in his service no less than Ferdinand of Arragon, and Henry the Seventh, and Henry the Eighth; and since the people often suffered by the devastation of rebellious Ameers, and the turbulent license of their troops, they would always be inclined to rally around those learned persons, in whom they beheld the supremacy of law and order. In Mahomedan states all laws are founded on the Koran. Hence the duties of priest and judge are combined in Persia; and at Constantinople the Sheikh ul Islam is primate of the hierarchy, as well as chief justice; and, like the English lord-chancellor, has a voice in the council of his sovereign. The "chain of the Ulema" has bound all legal and religious instruction under the control of one class, and that class has been the main obstacle to improvement. It is not difficult to find the origin of their exorbitant power. Timour relates that in his twenty-first year he resigned the guidance of his conscience to the Pole-star of Religion, Sheikh Zineddin, "upon which occasion he bound round me his own girdle, and on my finger he set a ruby ring, engraved with 'Righteousness and Salvation.'" The Moslem princes stood very

much in awe of these sages. When Timour commanded a general massacre at Shiraz, a Syed in vain besought him to revoke the order: "On that very night I dreamed that the Prophet frowned upon me, and said, 'One of my descendants interceded for the people, why did you not comply with his request, that I might have interceded for you at the court of the Almighty?' When I awoke, I rode to the house of the Syed to beg his pardon, and ordered that the slaughter should cease." What added to their influence was the dread of an imprecation. These are the words of Timour concerning two of his enemies: "At that time Mir Syed Ali of Termez, one of the most learned and devout men of the age, cursed them both for me, saying, 'Oh, Lord, cast the evil-doers into the lowest pit of Hell!' His prayer was heard, and God caused them to quarrel with each other." These Syeds and Moullas must have been wont to meditate on the superiority of all spiritual over temporal rank. They probably knew that the great potentates of Europe humbled themselves to kiss the feet of a Pope, and to hold the bridle of his palfrey. Men who reflect on the insignificance of all mundane affairs often lay claim to the chief stroke in regulating them. The august and invincible Timour was told by Sheikh Zineddin, the Kutb al Aktab, that is to say, the Pole-star of

Stars, that "the power of instating and displacing kings is in the hands of the true worshippers, who are the agents of God: every country has a patron saint appointed by the Kutb al Aktab; if he supports the monarch, the kingdom will flourish; otherwise it will fall into decay. When he dies, another must be appointed in his place, or the kingdom will be subverted: the man of God, who had charge of the realm of Kaisar, died this year, on which account you have easily gained a victory over him.' (Casar was the title assumed by Bajazet, whom Timour took captive at Angora, in 1402.) I regarded this as a warning that my turn would come soon: yet I had some hope that another patron would be appointed in the room of my deceased saint, and therefore I made an offering to the Sheikh of four thousand captives, in order to obtain his intercession." Another passage in the life of Timour is to this effect: "I took the opportunity of paying my respects to Sheikh Zineddin, and when admitted into his presence, I forgot all cares and disappointments, and felt the most perfect comfort. He received me with extreme kindness, and clothed me in his own robe; I unburthened my mind to him regarding my views on Khorasan: he ordered me to be punctual in my prayers, and whenever any difficulty occurred, to offer up my supplications to

Mahomet and his descendants." In Persia the most powerful monarchs have always endeavoured to conciliate the Moosheteheds. In the history of Abbas the Great, we read that a man complained to Moolla Ahmed, the Mooshetehed of Ardebil, that the king had taken his sister by compulsion into the haram. The holy man sent him with the following note: "Brother Abbas, restore the bearer's sister." The Shah instantly set her free, and said to his courtiers, "Let this note be put into my shroud: for on the Day of Judgment to have been called brother by Moolla Ahmed, will avail me more than all the actions of my life." The most sanguinary kings of the Sophi line used to relent at the solicitation of the chief divines. Aga Mohammed Khan allowed them to approach him when no others dared. "The reigning monarch pays them much higher respect: and it is probable that as long as they disregard wealth and rank, and do not meddle in affairs of state, they will retain their influence. They carefully avoid receiving presents from the great, in order to escape suspicion of the cupidity so common among their countrymen."*

But in the time of Baber these interpreters of the Koran, like the prelates of that age in Europe, seem to have frequently deviated from

* Sir John Malcolm.

the line of their ecclesiastical and judicial functions. The Sadder, or Chief Justiciary of Andejan, was slain in the second raid against Samarcand. Meer Syed Sheriff, the Pontiff of Persia, fell in the great battle between Ismael and Selim, in 1514. In the same period that witnessed Pope Julius and twenty-four cardinals at the head of an army, the Khwajeh Moulana was sent by Baber against the Hakim of Kashgar. In like manner other officers of state acted in divers capacities. A commandant of artillery felt his honour concerned in the operation of casting a gun, as in Europe, at the same time, a man would write, and print, and sell his own book. In a case of need Baber was quite ready to act as his own butcher. In one expedition there was a librarian with him. At the great day of Kanweh in 1527, the foreign ambassadors and the prime minister each had a command, as well as Sheikh Zin, the secretary, who styled himself the High Priest, the most exalted among judges of the human race, the protector of mankind, the supporter of Islam. This was but a year after the defeat of the Hungarians by Soliman at Mohacs, when seven bishops were slain, and their heads were brought to the Sultan. Whether any of the Moslem dignitaries incited a monarch to war, as Henry the Fifth was urged to the invasion of France by Chicheley, arch-

bishop of Canterbury, is not mentioned by Baber, but we cannot doubt that he was highly commended by them for making war upon the Pagans. Sometimes a Mufti was called in to remove a scruple of conscience. When Soliman desired to put to put to death Ibrahim Pasha, to whom he had sworn that he would never kill him while he was alive, the Mufti said he might kill him sleeping, because sleep was like death. Other facts might be adduced of a more pleasing character. During a plague at Constantinople, Sultan Achmal sent 50,000 dogs out of the city to Scutari, and would have ordered them to be despatched, but that he was forbidden by the Mufti, telling him that every dog has a soul. The honour of being consulted by their sovereign was but one of the advantages belonging to the expounders of the Mahometan law in Turkey. The Grand Signior, though general heir to his subjects, never touched their lands or money, which went by uninterrupted succession to their children.* Their tenants were free from oppression on part of the Pashas, and from outrages of the soldiery; and they themselves very seldom underwent capital punishment. There was a peculiar mode of execution reserved for the Mufti, that of being brayed in a mortar. But the execution of

* Lady M. W. Montague.

so reverend a personage was a very rare event. When Amurath the Fourth caused a Kadi to be hanged, all the Ulemah were roused in resentment, and they assembled at the house of the Mufti, whom the Sultan immediately commanded to be strangled. Upon this the people, who had seen innumerable Viziers and Pashas come to an untimely end, were struck with terror throughout the whole empire.

It would be wandering too far from the main scope of this essay, were I to follow out the comparison between the annals of Islam and of Christendom. It would also be perhaps unfair to the latter, considering how little we know of Mahometanism. But if it should appear that any nation of the East was laid under an interdict for the offence of a king, or that in one country during one reign more than a hundred murders were committed with impunity, because the murderers were men invested with a sacred office; or that a Sheikh ul Islam assumed a power of cancelling the obligation of an oath, and of absolving a people from allegiance to their sovereign, and of possessing in the superabundant merits of the saints a store from which he could dispense pardons for sin, or that any Moulla gave a man absolution month after month for crimes of the foulest dye, or that any Moslem sect regarded fasting as a work of

supererogation, and dancing a damnable sin; we in Christendom must not reproach the Mussulmen with these things.

One point of correspondence between European and Asiatic history must not be omitted here. As the Romish Church has made use of Latin liturgies, so the Mahometan prayers for the most part, as well as the Koran, are repeated in the Mosques of India and Persia in the Arabic language; and the Moslems almost every where say their prayers and peruse the Koran without understanding them. The Parsi fire-worshippers cannot interpret a word of the Zend and Pehlevi prayers which they recite; nor do the Jews know the Hebrew of the Pentateuch read in their Synagogues.

It has been seen that Sheik Zineddin, like the Pope in days of yore, pretended to the right of elevating and deposing kings. So the priests of Egypt and the Brahmins of India claimed an ascendancy over their sovereigns. How far it lay in the power of a prime minister in Hindostan to set aside the heir apparent was manifested at the death of Baber. Nizam ed din Ali Khalifeh had conceived an antipathy against Humaioon, and while the Emperor was still alive it was known that the minister had pitched upon Mehdi, the son-in-law of Baber, to succeed him. Immediately all the Ameers were eager in pay-

ing court to him, and he began to affect the deportment of a sovereign. But one day the Nizam was conversing with him in his tent, no other person being present, except Mohammed Mokim, when Baber, who was at the last extremity, suddenly commanded the attendance of Khalifeh. As he went away, Mehdi accompanied him to the door out of respect, and when he was fairly gone, not knowing that Mokim stood behind him, muttered to himself, "I will soon flay off your hide, old boy." Very soon after this he was ordered to remain in his house under a guard, for Mokim reported the words to Khalifeh, who instantly sent off an express for Humaioon, and by a proclamation forbade all persons to visit Mehdi.* In this way it happened that Humaioon was present at the death of Baber, and succeeded to all his dominions. He bestowed upon Kamran the government of the Punjab, in addition to that of Cabul and Candahar: Hindal obtained the vice-royalty of Mewat, and Askeri received the province of Sambal.

On the whole it appears from the memoirs of Baber that the possession of a throne depended on causes that were in a perpetual ebb and flow, and that a Sultan often had to contend in battle

* This anecdote rests on anonymous authority, but it would be easy to shew the power of a prime minister by other instances.

with rebel sons and brothers — that the rebellious princes themselves, in seeking the aid of a foreign king, were uncertain whether he would succour them or put out their eyes: that it was not thought very dishonourable to change sides in war: that men, whose nearest relatives were formidable enemies of a monarch, were nevertheless often intrusted by him with high office and command — that the chieftains generally cared for nothing but the immediate chance of wealth, rank, and enjoyment — that the common soldiers, receiving no pay, were frequently compelled to desert or plunder. No wonder that many persons took refuge in monastic life, or that flocks and herds were often preserved within walls, as in the keeps on the Scottish border. When Hassan and Tambol besieged Andejan, the Khwajeh Moulana had 18,000 sheep within the city. Near the valley of Doon Baber saw a castle, with a drawbridge, by which sheep and horses passed in and out. Sheep and horses, however, would not content the merry men of Andejan. They were loth to serve where they could not make prize of elegant furniture, bales of silk, spices and candied sugar, chalices of crystal, and enamelled daggers; so that Baber after the conquest of Hindostan was at a loss where to march for their satisfaction. They

were persons who could not well take offence at the address made by Picton to the men of his division at Vittoria, "Come on, my brave rascals, come on." Among them it was an established maxim,

> "That they shall take who have the power,
> And they shall keep who can."

The meanest thief who skulked in the rear of the imperial army might have pleaded the example of Humaioon ransacking the treasury at Delhi in the absence of his father. Baber however does not seem to have reflected on the resemblance. He related at full length the forays he made in Cabul, expecting that they would extend his fame in ages to come. He did not resort to cunning pretences in order to justify an act of aggression. He did not march against Candahar as Alexander assailed Tyre, on the pretext of performing religious ceremonies there. He did not imitate Julius Cæsar, who picked a quarrel with a foreign prince by forbidding him to attack the allies of the allies of the Roman people; nor did he follow the example of Henry the Second, who asked leave of the Pope to conquer Ireland. In the commencement of an invasion he did not, like our Edward the Third, employ the preachers in every mosque to en-

large upon the justice of his cause; nor did he send to the colleges of Samarcand and Bokhara to ask their opinion; nor did he assert, like Louis the Fourteenth, that treaties were not more binding than civil compliments; nor like the Czar Peter, did he assign as a reason for war that his ambassadors had been charged exorbitant prices for provisions; nor did he, like Zinghis Khan, for want of better argument endeavour to kindle the spirit of his Ameers by tales of injuries done to their grandfathers; nor did he task his wit to compose a long manifesto setting forth his benevolent purpose to quiet a distracted nation:—all these were the shifts of conscious guilt. Baber on the contrary, spoke his mind honestly. As a child the moment it takes a fancy to any thing will call out "that is mine," so he asserted that because he had long had the conquest of India at heart, therefore it belonged to him. It was the same in regard to Samarcand. Concerning his second triumph there in 1500 he writes, that "the Almighty restored to him his plundered country." At Cabul in 1508 he was enraged at the elevation of the rightful heir, Abdal Rizak. In India after the defeat of Ibrahim Lodi he began to call the Rana of Cheetore a rebel, though his kingdom had always been independent of Delhi. On his last departure from

Ferghana in 1504 into the domain of Khosrou, he had a hope of establishing an interest among the dependants of that chieftain, and yet he complained bitterly that Khosrou did not treat him with courtesy. He believed that Khosrou, although aware of his design, was bound to receive him with munificent hospitality. Much allowance ought to be made for one born in a region where there was no fixed rule of succession, and where he could scarcely maintain his own power unless he became terrible to all his neighbours. It would be wrong to judge him by comparison with men trained under an ancient dynasty, far less with English philosophers and statesmen of the 19th century. In his time all the great kingdoms to the north and south of the Hindoo Coosh were in a state like that of the Scottish border at the same period, and like the condition in which the Arabian tribes seem always to have been. The sentiments of Baber were not only those of his countrymen in general, but they ran in the blood from time immemorial. If he deserved the name of Tiger on account of his sanguinary career, his forefathers, Timour and Zinghis, were ramping infuriated hyenas. He would have justified his conduct on the ground of universal practice; or perhaps he would have advanced the argument by which

the crimes of Warren Hastings have been palliated, namely, that he had no choice but to do wrong, or abandon the hope of fortune and distinction.* The man who steals a loaf to escape starvation has a better plea than this: for it is more easy to forego happiness than to bear privation. If Hastings had returned home to live in contentment on a slender income, nobody would have molested him; whereas Baber might have lost his throne, if like Bajazet, he had incurred the contempt of his nobles and soldiery by a peaceful reign. He was not bred within the pale of the English church, but on the bank of the Jaxartes among men who were loth to be still any month of the year, and thought it silly to wait six months for the fruit of industry, when they might obtain more by robbery in a single night. Besides this it may fairly be asked what was to be done with his troops when he was in Cabul? If he had disbanded them, they would presently have been galloping over the rice-fields with careless glee, and roving into the villages in search of plunder; and it was out of his power to keep them in an efficient state without active service. Every one of them would have been scared away by the mere idea of a daily drill in a barrack-yard. Moreover it was impossible then,

* Macaulay's Essays, vol. iii.

as it is now in a large portion of Asia, to maintain any degree of peace and order without employing men of predatory habits to check depredation. Therefore Baber felt no shame for what he did. He would have been indignant against one who blamed him. He heartily believed the doctrine implied in a panegyric on Cromwell, in which it is said that he never permitted England to be abused by any body but himself. So Baber thought that all the rievers in Cabul except himself ought to undergo the extreme penalties of the law; and doubtless it was a tenet of Humaioon that none but himself might break into the treasury. Others however held that robbery was not a privilege reserved for the heir-apparent. Nasir Mirza seized a string of mules laden with silver at Candahar. It was in short a common opinion that every one might do the best for himself without regard to principle. Again and again the Ameers of Andejan deserted, rebelled, and were received back into the service of Baber, without the expression on his part of much indignation at their treason, or any surprise at their return. In 1507 Khan Mirza attempted to usurp the throne of Cabul: only a few months after that he had a command in the army near Candahar along with Nasir, the rebel brother of Baber, and Abdal Rizak, the heir of Ulugh Beg. It may be well to examine that

panegyric on Cromwell more at length. "A fickle multitude might crowd to shout and scoff around the gibbeted remains of the greatest prince and soldier of the age. But when the Dutch cannon startled an effeminate tyrant in his own palace, when Englishmen were sent to fight under foreign banners against the independence of Europe and the Protestant religion, many honest hearts swelled in secret at the thought of one who never permitted his country to be ill used by any body but himself." Cromwell had perhaps heard that Amurath the Fourth, in his expedition against Persia in 1638, had forbidden the use of wine to all his army except himself and his favourite, it being a royal beverage: or he might have contemplated the example of Hernando Cortes, who punished his soldiers for committing plunder in Mexico; or perhaps he had heard some orator pass this encomium on Mahomet, "Let Canons and Deans brand with the name of Impostor him who accomplished a revolution of which there is scarcely a parallel in history. Let them descant upon the bloody and voluptuous character of his creed and practice. But in the regions where the worship of idols once prevailed, many simple and pure hearts feel a secret veneration for him who extinguished idolatry, and never allowed fifteen wives to any body but himself." Example is

stronger than precept. As the passions of Greeks and Hindoos were kindled by contemplating the vices of their deities, so the followers of Mahomet, and especially all who believed him to have been a holy prophet, would find in the tale of his life an incentive to carnal indulgence. When he introduced into the Koran a command from the Supreme Being to marry the wife of his adopted son, contrary to the custom of Arabia, he perhaps intended it to be understood that other men should not gratify their inclinations in that manner without a similar command, nor exceed the permitted number of wives. But the Moslem princes have not been very scrupulous in this respect. According to Baber, his father, Omar Sheikh, Ahmed Mirza, and Mahmud, and Hussain, all had more than four queens besides other women.

The connexion between misery and self-indulgence is nowhere more visible than in the court and seraglio of an Oriental prince. The monarch himself, who has perhaps gained the crown by assassination, feels at liberty to condemn any one to torture and death. In Persia the execution takes place under his eye in the palace-yard. He has the entire choice of his companions and ministers. He can compel the most beautiful of women to enter his haram. Abbas the Second ordered a handsome girl who

had endeavoured to avoid him to be burned over a slow fire, and he witnessed her agony to the last. The religious ceremonies and the daily appearance in court seem to be the only restraint upon a sovereign in time of peace. I once heard a clergyman affirm in a sermon at Christmas that religion does not more certainly produce happiness than happiness produces religion. According to this many of the Mahometan kings have been in a fair way to saintly eminence. But in their ideas on this subject they go beyond the British divine. They have commonly believed that whenever they had the happiness to gain their selfish ends it was by Divine favour and predestination. After Baber had taken and plundered Samarcand a second time, in defiance of all law Divine and human, he said, "the Almighty had restored to him his plundered country." It is needless here to cite other instances.*

* Shah Suja, King of Persia, in a letter written in his last moments to Timour, said, "A présent que je suis appellé devant le Tribunal du souverain maître de l'univers, je remercie sa Divine Majesté de ce qu'il ne me reste dans la conscience aucune chose que j'ai à me reprocher ou à souhaiter; parce que nonobstant les fautes et les pêches que j'ai commis, qui sont inséparables de la vie humaine, et de la nature dépravée des hommes. Dieu m' a liberalement accordé tout ce que j'ai desiré, et j'ai gouté les plaisirs, autant que j'ai souhaité, pendant les cinquante trois années que j'ai de-

The custom of immuring women in a seraglio may be traced to the sixth century before the Christian era, if not to an earlier period. They are consigned to seclusion, each with a separate establishment, and they have no chance of escape, unless they are given away to courtiers as a mark of favour, and to save expense. They have little scope for thought except in ruling their servants, and in the intrigues and gossip of the court, and in endeavouring to outrival each other in the graces of their sovereign. Their loss of freedom is but a small part of their misfortune. All except the mother of the eldest son expect their children to be murdered, and this tempts them to commit infanticide. Some do this from mere abhorrence of their own condition by refusing nourishment to their babes, or by actual violence. The princes who are reared in a seraglio behold in their father an example of selfish enjoyment. They look upon one another as rivals in a future contest for the throne, or as doomed to die by command of their eldest brother. Until the time of Shah Abbas the Great, who reigned in Ispahan from 1585 to 1628, the

meuré sur la terre."—Histoire de Timur, Petis de la Croix, vol. i. p. 425.

In quoting this letter it is not intended to express an opinion of this individual, of whose character I know nothing, and therefore cannot tell with what feelings he wrote.

princes were all trained for military life; but the danger which he perceived in this led to a change, and thenceforth they were confined within the haram. This was an era in Persian, as in Turkish history. Abbas was the most illustrious of the Sophi line: he abstained from conquest, and spent his revenue in embellishing the capital, in building caravanserais, colleges, and mosques: he encouraged commerce, and cultivated the friendship of foreign monarchs, and was tolerant to men of every religion. The kingdom in every part bore evidence of his wisdom and beneficence. He had four sons in whom he delighted during their tender years; but when they grew up, and their princely qualities began to win popularity, he became jealous of them: every one who served them with zeal appeared to him an enemy: they soon found that his restless apprehension misinterpreted every action, and perhaps they listened to evil counsellors who pointed out the only path to security. He being led to believe that the eldest son had formed a design against his life, instigated a man to assassinate him; and when the deed was done, remorse gave another turn to his feelings, and he put to death all who had infused the suspicion into his mind. Nevertheless he commanded two other sons to be deprived of sight. The fate of one, whose name was Khoda-

bundeh, was very tragical. The first sign of distrust on the part of his father was the execution of a dear friend, his tutor. On hearing of this he hastened to court, and in expressing his indignation he drew his sword in the presence of his parent and sovereign. The signal for his death was given, but Abbas relented, and he was only punished with the loss of sight. Under that affliction he became gloomy and desperate: nothing gave him pleasure, and his time was spent in imprecations and schemes of revenge. The elder of his two children was a lovely girl, whose company was so charming to her grandfather that he appeared to be miserable without her; and when his mind was ruffled by violent passion, nothing but her voice had power to soothe him. When the Prince discovered how much his father depended upon her for happiness, he expressed a savage delight; and seizing her one day with the fury of a maniac as she came to fondle upon his bosom, he killed her in the presence of her mother, and then attacked his infant son: but the Princess bore him away in safety, and sent the king intelligence of the murder. The rage and despair of Abbas on receiving the tidings were a source of momentary pleasure to his son; and then, being sated with revenge, he concluded the scene with taking poison. Abbas died soon after overcome by anguish and a dis-

ease which intemperance had aggravated. Such were the consequences of despotic power and polygamy, and the seclusion of women in a seraglio—a system which was maintained not only by the monarch, but also by every nobleman in the kingdom according to his means; a system which Mahomet said that he was divinely commissioned to authorise.

It is for this assertion that he is to blame, not for the mere sanction of polygamy: since in this respect he checked rather than gave a rein to the immemorial license of the Arabians. And in regard to his use of the sword in disseminating his creed, it is but fair to bear in mind that Isabella, the tender and noble-minded queen of Castile,* permitted the Inquisition to burn thousands of heretics; and Sir Thomas More, after writing in favour of religious liberty, condemned men to death for heresy; and Calvin, who set up his own judgment like a great lighthouse in Switzerland, consigned Servetus to the flames for exercising his, and that too with the approbation of the gentle Melancthon and other German reformers: the intolerance of Bossuet and Louis the Fourteenth was shared by the heavenly spirit of Fénélon: and it may be added that Wilberforce proposed to the House of Com-

* See Luke c. ix. v. 54.

mons in 1822, that the Christian states should unite in driving the Turks out of Europe.

As the Popes in the middle age claimed to be the interpreters of Scripture for all the inhabitants of the globe, so Mahomet declared that God revealed the Koran to him for the instruction of all men; and in like manner Zinghis Khan told the people of Bokhara that he was inspired by God to govern the whole world. Both Mahomet and Zinghis were conscious of superior ability; and Oliver Cromwell must have felt within him the instinct of dominion. In forming an estimate of such men, the main question is, whether they told lies for their own benefit. The worst tale against Cromwell is that he made a solemn and passionate disavowal in Parliament of a design which he afterwards accomplished. It will perhaps be said that enthusiasts and fanatics may tell a falsehood without consciousness of guilt. It may be so; and perhaps the Anabaptists of Munster, who walked about the streets calling themselves the naked truth, were simple and decent folk, but they were not the less amenable to the police. Principles are of far more importance than an individual character. The doctrine conveyed in that panegyric on Cromwell is that, if a sovereign break the laws, a subject may put him to death, and break the laws himself by usurping the

crown, provided he can govern the country well; as it has been said in praise of Cortes, that where he destroyed, there he built up again.* That doctrine however is very dangerous, there are so many clever villains in every nation. It may be doubted whether Cromwell held it as a tenet of political science. He would probably have scorned to debate the question; and when he seized Jamaica,† if he did care at all about his reputation, it was easy for him to foresee that not only men like the Begs of Andejan, but also eloquent men of letters in a later age, would be ready to extol his character. Fame depends on the wants of those who bestow it. The services which he rendered to the cause of civil and religious liberty in the first part of his career, and the splendour of his administration, have secured him the esteem of many, as the bounty of Baber made him popular with the soldiery, and the vagrant hordes of Moguls flocked to his standard, because he was a paragon of rievers. In his time it was honourable to ride in quest of plunder: his name is still held in esteem throughout that part of the world; and his example is so generally fol-

* Prescott. Conquest of Mexico, vol. iii. p. 317.

† Milton's defence of the war with Spain may be answered in a few words from Voltaire: "Mazarin et Don Louis de Haro prodiguèrent à l'envi leur politique pour s'unir avec le Protecteur."

lowed that, when Sir J. Malcolm told a Persian how efficient the police were in England, he begged to know what employment could be found for so large a population? The roving tribes of Persia, who hold the name of thief in abhorrence, and who appear to be of a more pure and noble character than the inhabitants of cities, all take a pride in recounting their acts of depredation. If their love of plundering were to abate, they would be jeered by their women. They are melancholy in a quiet time, and speak with rapture of former days when anarchy prevailed. "I trust in God," said one of them to Sir J. Malcolm, "that the present tranquillity will not last."*

Since a large part of Asia has been from time immemorial in so lawless a state, it is not surprising that many men have risen from a very low station to sovereign power. During the confusion that prevailed after the death of Nadir Shah, a chief of little note went about Louristan with musicians, who played and sang a popular

* In the code of Gentoo laws there is this ordinance:— "If any thieves by the command of the magistrate have committed depredation and brought home booty from another province, the magistrate shall receive one-sixth of it for his share; their chief shall have four shares, and whoever among them is remarkably stout and strong, shall take two shares." P. 146.

air, and in this way having assembled four or five thousand men, proclaimed himself King of Persia. Kureen Khan, the sovereign, who died in 1779, with a high character for equity and humanity, used to relate this anecdote of himself: "When I was a poor soldier in the camp of Nadir Shah, my necessities led me to steal from a shop a gold-embossed saddle, sent there by an Afghan to be repaired. I soon heard that the man was under sentence of death. My conscience smote me: I restored the saddle, and watched the moment when his wife discovered it in the shop. She uttered a scream of joy, and, falling on her knees, invoked a blessing on the person who brought it back, praying that he might live to possess a hundred saddles like it. I am certain that her prayer aided me in attaining to my present splendour." The elevation of Shah Ismael, who was called the son of a devotee, and of Nadir Kouli, whose name, the wonderful slave, indicates a low parentage, may serve to remind the reader of many other adventurers, who rose like the two cup-bearers of Firoz Shah, mentioned by Baber among the founders of Indian dynasties.

The account that has been given in this volume of the moral and political state of Maweralnahar, Cabul, and Persia, combined with some physical knowledge of Central Asia, may

afford some answer to the inquiry, how Zinghis, and Timour, and other princes, without baggage-waggons, or military chest, or a commissariat, were enabled to lead their armies so far across that continent. The steppes of Tartary are overspread with herbage enough to feed multitudes of cattle. The simple diet of the Moguls and Turks, with their roving predatory habits, contributed in spite of occasional intoxication with the spirit of mare's milk, to harden them both in mind and body, while the more idle natives of the south were enervated by feeding on melons, and grapes, and mangoes, or reclining in the shade to hear poetry and the voice of the nightingale. With so great a number of useful animals, it was easy for a whole nation to move at once. The hides were made into tents and clothing, and perhaps into bottles for the conveyance of liquor in long marches, and coracles for the passage of rivers. The reeds that grew by the river-sides were formed into bows and arrows; and the strings might be made from the intestines of cattle. When the soldiers were accompanied by their wives and children, they would move at a moderate rate, the tents and domestic utensils being conveyed in light carts, and the flocks and herds would be their food. In one expedition of Timour each cavalier led a spare horse, which might be serviceable either

to eat or to ride. In another the army was attended by many thousand she-camels for the sake of their milk, and for other purposes. It is to be noted that the sheep of Tartary were not like the heavy Leicester breed, nor the kine like the fat bullocks of Smithfield, but more like the nimble sheep of Wales, and the wild cattle of the Caledonian forest. Their horses too were not the spiritless creatures degraded by the hand of man, which are used in England, often for a solitary ride, but all enjoying the full vigour of nature and the excitement of company. The Pindarees and the Turkomans have shewn what the horses of the East can do. The Turkomans carry behind them a week's food for themselves and their steeds, and they sometimes ride a thousand miles in ten days. The Pindarees and their horses were the offscouring of India, rejected by every chief; yet they went sixty or seventy miles a-day. They lived on forced contributions, sending notice a few hours beforehand of their next halting-place. When they arrived there the horses were picketed: the saddle and a blanket served for bed and bedding. When a Turkish or Mogul army consisted of horsemen without their families, they would swim the rivers easily, and travel rapidly over a desert. As the snow is drifted by a furious north-east wind along a smooth down in

Wiltshire, here and there swaying a little, now ascending an eminence, and then descending into a hollow, so an army of two hundred thousand Tartars rode across the country with impetuous speed, both man and horse in a state of joyous emulation, and sporting with their superabundant vigour. Such was the career of Timour with a countless multitude of warriors on the 5th of September, 1393, when they rode eighty miles without a halt, and swam the Tigris to the capture of Bagdad. An army like that would disperse in a fertile country to collect food and forage. The main resource was plunder, and whenever that failed they had to endure the extreme of famine. Men who live on flesh can fast long, and require less bulk of food than others to maintain their strength. The Asiatics are generally more temperate than Europeans; and besides this it is far more easy for an equestrian to bear long abstinence than the stoutest foot-soldier. If the nomade races in the 13th and 14th centuries did not commonly feed on meat, their strength would be increased by it in their long marches. They passed through highly cultivated kingdoms along the course of rivers, and attacked every opulent town. It is said that the carnage and desolation which marked their progress were terrific. It is probable that the alarm of their approach drove all the rural

population to seek refuge in cities; and thus at the end of a siege there were sometimes more than a million of persons involved in one ruthless massacre. When they came into a sylvan region, they would form a circle to enclose all beasts of chase. It may be thought that a large army could not be fed for one day with the produce of the ring-hunt. But a single line of men would drive the wild animals before them, and therefore the armies of Timour by their very magnitude were able to surround an enormous number of deer, and wild sheep, and antelopes, so that they sometimes killed more game than could be carried away. We know that in some parts of the world there are at the present day myriads of animals to be found within a small space of country. When Timour was in Mesopotamia, the left and right wings of his army extended themselves to form the ivim, and when the horns of that crescent met, the region which they enclosed was five days' journey in circuit. Moreover the taste of the Moguls was gross enough to feed on bears, and wolves, and dogs, as well as other things not to be called homely food, in fact any carrion or garbage. It may be remembered that Franklin and his companions were mightily exhilarated by a breakfast on putrid venison near the Coppermine River. Zinghis and his troops were once reduced to eat the offal of animals slaugh-

tered by another army. The soldiers of Timour in a like emergency went about peering for eggs and vermin, any thing in short to mix with green herbs, without any thought of condiment. Then he ordered a grand hunt, and they caught deer and gazelles enough to feed the army for a considerable time. If ever a large number of men perished by frost or famine, there was abundance of bold vagabonds in every country at a loss for a livelihood, or ready to die of ennui—men who thought scorn of dying in their beds, who were right glad to serve for the chance of booty, and at times would abandon all thought of it to fight and kill for the mere sake of fighting and killing. Col. Napier has said that "war is the condition of this world: from man to the smallest insect all are at strife." This has always been the case in Asia, so that Alexander and other conquerors found it easy to recruit their armies out of the vanquished nations. The main difficulty both to Timour and Zinghis was to feed their troops. For they, like the cavaliers of Baber, received no regular pay, but were content with plunder and a donative after the capture of a city.

Those who spend their lives among such men in military adventures are likely to form a habit of obdurate selfishness and vulgarity. It cannot be denied that Baber was far from maintaining

the dignity of a king. He relates that he played a boyish trick upon one of his courtiers, persuading him to eat a coloquint apple, in the belief that it was a melon of Hindostan, "and the bitter taste did not leave him till the end of the day." The Turks at that time, like the nations of Northern Europe, were in a process of improvement by contact with the civilisation of the south. As the guests of Baber were entertained with elephant and camel fights, so according to the journal of Edward the Sixth the French ambassador "saw the baiting of bears and bulls." Simplicity is apt to be vulgar, and refinement is often very feeble. The roughness of nature is not worse than the stiffness of art. A yew clipped into a neat figure is not a more seemly ornament of a pleasance than wild bindweed and flaunting bramble, the misgrowth of eccentricity. The fine enamel of politeness and intellectual culture, however it may shine in the saloon, or beguile a vacant hour, is of no more worth than a mere abstraction in those emergencies when life and honour are at stake. Those who prefer elegant imbecility to rude vigour can assign no good argument for their choice. There is no less virtue belonging to one than to the other. In spite of all the heart-hardening scenes through which Baber passed, he retained to the last a tender attachment to his relations. He appears

to have lived in harmony and affection with the mother of Humaioon. He was bountiful even in anger, and always ready to forgive his rebellious brothers and Ameers, and to share distress with his soldiers. There was an instance of this in the winter march from Heri. If he thought it worthy of attention that he caught the earache on that cold night, we are to remember that the Memoir was not published. It may seem contemptible after reading Cæsar, but however trifling some of the notices may be, they are not a whit more indelicate than those of Burnet and Sir Henry Wotton. That detail of trivial incidents was not owing to a notion of self-importance, like that of Akbar, who kept a clerk of the chase to note down every head of game that he killed, and with what fowling-piece he killed it,* nor like that of Mohammed Toghlak, who buried one of his teeth, and erected a magnificent tomb over it. It was rather of a piece with his candour in telling all his thoughts, and feelings, and frailties. He was very free from deceit, and cold reserve, and the ostentation of superior dignity. He was ready to weep for the playmate of his boyhood. He was always overflowing with gaiety and good humour,

* There may have been some superstition connected with this.

and scarcely ever gave vent to satire on a companion. In like manner his contemporary Shah Ismael was "courteous and affable, easy to be seen and spoken withal: his manner was to dine openly in the company of his nobility; he delighted much in hunting and hawking with them and the foreign ambassadors; he would often leap and prove masteries with them, being an excellent horseman and a cunning archer." It is no mark of frivolity in Baber that in the midst of great events he could take pleasure in introducing an oleander or setting orange-trees around the margin of a tank. Those are really frivolous who carry their anxieties and deliberations into holiday scenes, and through pride are unable to participate in simple and innocent pleasures. Baber was very fond of beautiful scenery, and he resembled Charlemagne and Charles the Fifth in his love of horticulture. His love of hunting was another source of cheerfulness. For it was well said by Jehangir, "Train up thy son in the pleasures of the chase, and in the day of battle he will not prove a coward." Whether he possessed a high degree of military or political skill, I leave to others to determine. Much of his success was owing to that which is more noble than skill, the ardent courage that stimulated every faculty of his mind and body. His muscular strength is said to have been so

great that he could leap in heavy boots from one pinnacle to another along the embattled ramparts which are common in the East, holding a man in each hand. Long after his health began to decline he rode in the month of June 160 miles from Calpi to Agra in two days. His buoyant spirit never sank into languid despondency, although he was more frequently vanquished and more frequently reduced to destitution than any other great conqueror. After he was driven from the city of Cabul by the rebels who placed Abdal Rizak upon the throne, how royally he advanced before the line of his army to challenge that prince, and set his life, his honour, and his crown upon the issue of five single combats, until no more champions came out to fight him! Where is there an instance of a man uniting so much energy and talent with the merry simplicity of a child? He was not one of those who prolong misery by remembering it, and create it by expectation. His was the tear forgot as soon as shed, and the imprecation as soon as it was vented. In regard to those endowments of the mind which are exercised in the arts of peace, it may at least be asserted that his attention was given to every thing he could understand. "No region of art or nature escaped his researches." His description of Indian productions, extending through twenty-

two quarto pages, may seem very tedious to some, but it proves the delight with which he gratified his curiosity. Rousseau has remarked that a man really in love will write a more dull letter than one who is only pretending. Yet it must be confessed that Baber is prolix both in his general narrative and in heralding his own praise. As to his marvellous tales there is little doubt that some witty courtiers played upon his credulity, and others were equally credulous with himself. He composed poetry both in Toorki and Persian, and his poems according to Abul Fuzil had a wide circulation. He likewise wrote treatises on Prosody and Music, which were perhaps equal in talent to the Essay of Henry the Eighth against Luther. In spite of the barbarism and anarchy generally prevailing, the Court of Samarcand (when Cardinal Ximenes burnt the libraries of Cordova, and Zumarraga made a bonfire of historical paintings in Mexico), or at any rate that of Heri, under Hussain Mirza, was graced with the arts of refinement more than any European court of the same period. But there is one blank in the social scene. In the whole narrative of Baber there is no instance of a Princess appearing at any entertainment or in any excursion of pleasure. The general condition of the ladies was dependence and seclusion; but they were treated

with profound respect, and the mother of a reigning prince exercised a considerable degree of authority over him. It is well to compare what Baber relates of his mother with the following passage from Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia: "Among the wandering tribes maternal claims are always respected. The mother's influence over her son usually continues through life, and she is ready to maintain that authority by ministering to his gratification. It is her duty to preside over his family, and he intrusts her with the choice and management of his partners."

In drawing a comparison between the state of Christendom and that of Mahometan kingdoms during the age of Baber and Charles the Fifth, from 1483 to 1558, how humiliating it is to discover that, notwithstanding the polygamy and horrid vices of the East, the Moslems were not far inferior in virtue and happiness! Consider the court and character of Pope Alexander the Sixth, the acts of the Inquisition in Spain, the desolation of Italy by foreign armies, the horrors perpetrated in the name of Christ on the western side of the Atlantic, the atrocities committed by the French soldiery against their own countrymen in 1543, and the massacre of the Waldenses, and the cruelties exercised by the Portuguese in order to the conversion of Mahometans on the

coast of Malabar, cruelties which their own historians relate with shuddering amazement. How little the chivalry of Europe were superior in consistency of sentiment or propriety of action to the roving Moguls and the felonry of Khorasan, appears in a speech delivered by the Grand Master of Rhodes in 1521, before the arrival of Soliman. "Valiant gentlemen and worthy citizens, we hear that the Turk, our mortal enemy, is coming against us with a huge army; from whose natural cruelty and wonted perjury, unless we defend ourselves by force, one and the same danger is likely to befall us all. For we have by common consent grievously spoiled him both by sea and land, and you are enriched with booty taken with a strong hand out of his dominions: and to this day we keep his people in slavery and he ours: but he injuriously and we most justly: for his ancestors, weary of the dark dens and caves of Caucasus, their native abodes, without right or title, incited only by covetousness and hatred of our holy religion, drove the Christians out of Syria." Moreover, an Ottoman might affirm that if Turkish manners and the creed of Mecca had prevailed in Europe, many evils might have been avoided both in public and private life. Without dwelling on the benefit of frequent ablutions, and of more polite and decorous beha-

viour among the lower classes, and the absence of ridiculous and vain-glorious epitaphs from our churchyards, he would observe that there would have been no indecent idols in Switzerland, and that instead of wrangling about predestination, the belief in that doctrine would have been a source of fortitude and patience. Some of the Moullas might perhaps have agreed with Erasmus, that heresy is worse than avarice, lewdness, and every other crime; but they would not have taught, like Theodore Beza, that God creates men with intent to work evil through their means. The various Mahometan sects do not require separate mosques and teachers. The Imam is the leader in prayer, and any man of learning and piety may preach. Mahomet's prohibition of wine would have done little harm in comparison with the obligation of celibacy laid upon the Romish clergy. Simony and the Inquisition were not known in Asia. The people would not have been told that good works are unnecessary, or even an obstacle to salvation. Charles the Fifth seeing in the dispute about Ali nothing that touched his imperial prerogative, would have refrained from spending half his life in the endeavour to unite parties that were irreconcilable. He would have had no inducement to keep the Sheikh ul Islam of Rome in custody, while he commanded prayers to be

offered in all the churches of Spain for his deliverance. In England Catharine of Arragon might have lived in concord or jealousy with Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, obsequious to the learned caliph Henry Tudor. In regard to Francis the First, perhaps he would have been more faithful to his word among Mussulmen. The Turks in their commercial dealings have always been noted for probity, and have sometimes been too credulous. In 1669 the merchants of Holland and Italy, and other nations in the West, combined to cheat them with base coin, which being new and bright was readily accepted, and the Sultan's treasury was half filled with it before the fraud was detected. The integrity of the Moors in Spain has been memorized by an Archbishop of Talavera, who said that Moorish works and Spanish faith would make a good Christian. The Saracens and Turks in Palestine kept their engagements better than the Crusaders. In 1444, when Uladislaus, King of Hungary, had made a treaty with Amurath the Second, Cardinal Julian, the Pope's Legate, urged him to break it in the following words, "Who would not determine that in case faith were pledged to both, it were rather to be kept with a Christian than with a Turk. Against a perfidious enemy it is lawful to use all cunning, force, and deceit. By craft the Turk

first passed into Europe, and he grew to this height rather by cunning than by strength: will you keep your promise with the faithless Turk rather than with the faithful Christians? All great things are done by device and policy. The Romans, our ancestors, kept their leagues with confederates, but deluded the deceitful with their cunning. Cæsar was of opinion that for sovereignty the law was sometimes to be broken. And Philip of Macedon often used deceit. Yet were these men not called traitors. It is sometimes lawful for the common weal neither to stand to our leagues, nor to keep faith with the faithless. It is lawful to break unlawful oaths. Wherefore make no conscience of your league with the infidel; but think it wickedness to violate the league made with the great Bishop of Rome, and that you can do nothing more acceptable unto our Saviour than to deliver Christian countries from bondage to the Turks." Then in the name of the Pope he cancelled the treaty, and absolved the King and all his men from the obligation of it. Meanwhile Amurath performed all the engagements made on his part, and retired into a monastery in Magnesia.* He was soon roused from that retreat by the march of

* The Moslems are not bound to remain in their monasteries.

the Hungarians against Varna, and the armies of the two monarchs were arrayed against each other near that city on the 10th of November, 1444. After a long combat Amurath fearing a defeat drew the treaty from his bosom, and holding it up cried aloud, " Behold, thou crucified Christ, this is the league thy Christians in thy name made with me, which they have without cause violated. Now if thou be a God as they declare, and as we dream, avenge the wrong done unto thy name and to me : shew thy power upon thy perjured people, who in their deeds deny thee their God." The King of Hungary was slain in the battle, and his army was utterly overthrown. In the same year of the following century there was the same contrast between the conduct of Soliman the Magnificent and Francis the First. Soliman was faithful to his treaties, and his commanders, bad as they were, never went the length of asserting that to keep faith with those who have no faith is a want of faith. The secret Protest of Francis at Madrid, the Protest of Cranmer in 1532, the secret Protest of Henry, the son of Francis, in 1544, were acts of a kind not sanctioned by Turkish examples.* Another fact that would make a strong

* According to Sir Paul Rycaut, Mahomet permitted his followers to break faith with unbelievers, as appears in the Katib Hadain. This, however, may have been an invention

impression on the mind of a Turk was this, that the nobles of Hungary, after a long dilemma between Soliman, who tried to assassinate, and Ferdinand of Austria, who did assassinate, their venerable chief, the Cardinal Martinuzzi, finally resigned themselves to the sway of Soliman, as the better prince. If that Sultan inquired of the French envoy what caused the great schism in the west, he would hear in reply that Pope Leo, partly with a view to make war upon the Turks, had been amassing a treasure by selling pardons for crimes not yet committed; and that Pope Clement the Seventh kept Henry waiting six years for a divorce: that the clergy were tempted by the prospect of marriage, and the nobles by the hope of possessing abbey lands: and that Protestant divines were drawing men away from the austere penances of the Romish church by telling them that they need not fast at all, for that God forgives men on their repentance, and promises to forgive them whenever they repent again. He would hear also that the Nuncio told the Diet of Augsburgh what an advantage the Turks had in being of one religion, whereas they

of his successors. Gibbon says, "The Mahometan, and more especially the Turkish casuists, have pronounced that no person can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion: and that the Sultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors."—Vol. xii. p. 187.

were always inventing new doctrines. And while Christians were thus running into endless varieties of opinion, they were ready to unite in affronting him, the Sovereign of Turkey. When the French King was charged with being in alliance with him, he affected much indignation. The feelings of Soliman, who accounted himself the might of the world, and the virtue of the firmament, were wounded to the quick, when Francis made it appear to all men that he was ashamed of the connexion. In 1544 without any pretext he suddenly broke it off, and formed a league with Charles against the Sultan. Nobody blamed him either for the insult or the perfidy. Perhaps his confessor never told him that "he who despiseth his neighbour sinneth;" and that Soliman on his part might have some need of patience in allying himself with men who called him a miscreant, and denied the unity of God.

If the French ambassador was one who favoured the Reformation, he might tell Soliman that men were becoming Protestants on account of the impurity and frauds of the Roman church; and that Henry the Eighth really had a scruple of conscience about his marriage with Catharine; that he was a man fond of theological discussion, and wrote a book against Luther, and was accustomed to hear mass five times a-day;

and that Cranmer described him after his death as "a king of most famous memory, of a fervent and earnest godly disposition, and tender zeal towards the setting forth of God's glory." Imagine that the Sultan, impressed with reverence for such a character, inquired further: he would learn that the most illustrious men of Henry's court, Sir Thomas More, whom he used to caress with familiarity, and the Earl of Surrey, were sent to the block; and Anne Boleyn, after she had borne him a daughter, was sacrificed to his passion for another woman; that in the course of five years, in order to gratify his courtiers, and fill his own treasury, he confiscated land in England and Wales, which had been dedicated to sacred purposes, amounting to one-fourth part of the kingdom: and that when he was desirous to divorce Anne of Cleves, Cranmer and Gardiner, with the clergy in convocation, declared the marriage to be null, because he had married her with much reluctance!

The Mahometans had nothing but the Koran, while in Christendom there was the Bible and the visible Church. The Koran was probably more studied in the one region than the Bible in the other. In regard to the Church, those who beheld the Ottoman crescent united with the lilies of France in 1543, against the cross of Savoy, might reflect how much at that time, and

for many centuries before, it resembled Mahometanism. It is no subject for wonder that Christianity produced so little good; for all through Europe men were tempted to take holy orders by the hope of living in ease, and luxury, and grandeur. The tendency of a creed is not to be tested by the conduct of those who disbelieve it. Nor are the laity of that time to be judged by a rule of life, which they could not read. In the middle ages the Bible was almost unknown to the commonalty; and the clergy were but slightly acquainted with it, even in the time of Luther. It is not good however to dwell only upon the dark features either of European or Mahometan history. In private life it is thought a proof of malevolence to keep the attention fixed on the failings of men. The consequence of setting forth only the corruptions of Popery has been to generate an empty pride in Protestants. They have sometimes forgotten that the Church of Rome was for a long period, like that of Russia, the main bulwark of civilisation, and the only channel of literature, and that they now occupy churches, cathedrals, and universities, built and endowed by their Romish ancestors; and further, that all Christians in the West must share the disgrace of their mother church. They have likewise lost sight of some duties inculcated by her. Has it not been told

among the Syrian and Armenian Christians, that the Protestants of England and Germany never fast even in Lent? Let Protestants look to themselves. Let every one prune his own vine, and then his garden will be a scene of tranquillity. It may be thought needful in controversy to shew all the evils belonging to a system; but the end of theological discussion ought to be, not to gain a victory in argument, but the advancement of religion, truth and justice, peace on earth and good-will towards men. In the Bible the most flagitious deeds are minutely narrated, but they are intermingled with good examples and precepts, and in some instances there is the record of deep contrition with the endurance of punishment after a declaration of the Divine anger. There cannot be the slightest emotion of party spirit in perusing that narrative. But there has been perhaps no impartial historian of the Reformation, and no inspired hand has traced amid the animosities and cruelties of that age all the influence of that pure faith, whose reward cannot be received from man. As it appears in the general survey, the whole scene from Mexico to India is rueful to contemplate. But reflection will discover many a gem neglected by the annalist, and many a flower whose perfume was not wasted in the desert air. As the verdure of herbage is deeper where it is trodden,

and trees shoot more luxuriantly after they have been lopped, so the energies of mankind are drawn forth by calamities, and in some few there is the more precious growth of patience and meekness. Many there doubtless were both in the East and in Europe utterly unknown to history, because they submitted in silent humility to the chastisement of Divine Providence, and were purified by affliction.*

Those who in reading merely seek for innocent amusement, may shrink from the consideration of these things; but human life ought not to be spent in gathering the flowers of literature. In studying the Life of Baber, it would be pleasant to reflect only on his virtues. But his faults must not be kept out of view. Indeed it is now so common a practice to dissect even live subjects, that it may be well to anticipate reflections against him. Perhaps it will be asked, since he was too benevolent to be satirical, why did he more than once describe so coldly the distress arising from his inconsiderate taxation in Cabul? And when the treasures of Delhi were squandered in the reckless manner of a

* Since that time Europeans have been improving in civilisation while the Asiatics have been wholly at a stand. Among the many causes that may be assigned for this, it is worth while to notice that they have never availed themselves of the art of printing.

British sailor, he added 30 per cent. to the taxes without expressing any concern for the operation of that measure on all, who were near the limits of starvation. But let it be remembered, how seriously men have maintained in our time, that the most lavish expenditure in state pageantries is no evil, because the money is spent within the country. And it was not to be expected that he or his Ameers would reflect on the consequences of their actions. An Essay on the evils of war would have made but slight impression upon them. They would have looked upon the author as a poor timid creature, who had leisure for meditation. Suppose him to have represented to them the advantage, which a civilised community possesses in the multitude of persons, who desire the maintenance of tranquillity, and in the number of employments which require skill and knowledge, and a daily regard for the rights and feelings of other men; and that in a state of peace, the produce of their land, and the revenue derived from articles of trade, would soon very far exceed in value all the booty they could obtain in raids and battles; this reasoning would have no more affected them than a sunbeam can remove an earth-fast block of granite. If some one rather more thoughtful than the rest had taken the trouble to reply, it would have been perhaps in accordance with the language

addressed to Henry the Fifth in the House of Peers, by his confessor, the Primate of all England: "Although by establishing good laws, by the due administration of justice, and the settlement of peace at home, you may live in security, yet you will have little regard for your honour, unless you look abroad and revenge the injuries done you by your enemies." Blessed are the peace-makers!

With regard to the execution of all the male inhabitants of Bajour, who were infidels, it would be a sorry plea to urge for Baber, that Edward the Black Prince, and the Conqueror of Agincourt, were no less cruel. But it is fair to mention in his behalf, as well as that of Mahomet, the intolerance of men like Melancthon and Fenelon: and further, that neither the Black Prince nor Melancthon were stimulated to cruelty, as Baber was by the opinion that every unbeliever executed would be to him a degree of elevation in heaven. When Timour was advanced in life, he said to his Ameers: "Since my victories have been the destruction of many creatures of God, I have resolved to atone for the offences of my past life by exterminating the infidels of China. You, my dear companions, who have been the instruments of my crimes, shall have a share in this meritorious act of repentance. The Koran assures us that good

works efface the sins of this world." So when Francis the First was ill, the Ecclesiastics persuaded him to appease the anger of Heaven by ordering a massacre in Provence. Baber might hope to expiate his misdeeds in the same manner. He had read that dire sentence of the Koran: "Fight against those who believe not in God." That, and the promise of bliss annexed to it, may be compared with the assurance of salvation given by Urban the Sixth to all who would make war against the rival Pope. How heartily men may agree in a principle, and yet quarrel in the consequences!

That a man of so kind and noble a heart as Baber, should have been so bigoted in religion, is a thing that must be laid to the account of Mahomet. Where there is much of benevolence in the same mind with intolerance, the latter must be in part imputed to some external cause. It was owing to her confessor that Isabella disregarded the voice of nature and the word of God, when she permitted him to establish the Inquisition in Spain. So Baber, not exercising his private judgment, imbibed the opinion of Moulana Kazi, that all unbelievers would go to perdition, and that after the example of the Prophet he ought to make war against them. Why he did not slay all the Hindoos it is difficult to understand. He must have been tempted to

it, when there was no more booty for the troops. There have been Mahometan Princes, who like the modern Wahabees entertained the project of killing all mankind, unless they embraced the true faith. But some had not energy to execute their purpose; and in others the feelings of nature were not extinct. Some Sultans may have been liberal through policy or lack of faith, or were led by their own reflection to be perfectly tolerant. The Hindoo sovereigns have generally refrained from molesting their Mahometan subjects. In the time of Baber and Luther the Princes of Christendom were certainly more fierce in persecution than the Moslem sovereigns. These in some instances propagated their creed at the point of the sword, but in Europe there was both fire and sword. More than ten thousand heretics were burnt in Spain during the last twenty years of the fifteenth century. And when Charles was warring against the German Protestants, and Henry was condemning men to the flames for not following every change of his mind, Soliman gave entire freedom of religion to his people, and Baber was not cruel to the Hindoos. His grandson Akbar, the contemporary of Philip the Second and of Elizabeth, was equally liberal during his reign of fifty years in Hindostan.

His son Jehangir once asked him why he

permitted the Indians to build their Pagan temples, to which he replied, "My dear child, I find myself a potent monarch, the shadow of God upon earth. I have seen that he gives the blessings of his Providence to all his creatures without distinction. Ill should I perform the duties of my exalted station, were I to withhold my compassion and indulgence from any of those entrusted to my charge. I am at peace with all the human race, why should I molest any one? Besides, are not the chief part of mankind either Hindoos or otherwise aliens to the faith? and were I to be governed by the motives you suggest, what could I do but put them all to death? Therefore I have thought it more wise to let them all alone. Nor is it to be forgotten, that the class of whom we are speaking, in common with the other inhabitants of Agra, are usefully engaged either in the pursuit of science, or the arts, and in improving the condition of mankind, and have served me in the highest offices of state." His son was of a different mind; but since that time the temper of Asiatics as well as Europeans has been mollified to a considerable degree. Milton was for tolerating all except Romanists. Arungzebe merely required the Hindoos to pay a tax for their idolatry. The benign and delicate Addison proposed nothing worse than thumps and bangs for

unbelievers. Ireland has been governed on a system of petty persecution and timid concession. Burkitt in his Commentary on the New Testament was content to let his imagination dwell on the benefit of coercion. "One blow," he said; "from the sword of the civil magistrate would stun error and vice." In the present age there are amiable ladies, who still advocate civil disabilities. They are of a class, who would rather see a bad man enter a church than a steeple set on a dissenting chapel. In like manner Baber thought that the tomb of an unbeliever ought not to stand upon a knoll in a picturesque landscape, however it might accord with the beauty of the scene for him to take an inebriating confection there.

With regard to that great stain upon his life, the habit of intoxication, there are various excuses that men advance for such wickedness. We have been told * that the immoralities of Blucher were not owing to selfishness, but the necessity of violent sensations. Baber himself declared that in several instances he drank wine owing to the excitement of a brilliant spectacle. It is right to bear in mind the entire prohibition of wine by Mahomet. The Persians have a saying, that there is as much sin in a glass as in

* Alison's History of Europe, Vol. 10.

a flagon; therefore when they take wine at all, they indulge to the utmost. Far be it from me however to palliate that detestable vice. What a feeble spirit was in that man, who, having in view the conquest of India, brought himself by drinking to an untimely end. Moreover he disobeyed the Koran, and acted against the light of nature every time that he was guilty of intoxication, and the shame of it must rest upon his memory for ever. Those who have never yielded to the allurements of sense, will perhaps regard him with utter disdain. If they have never encountered the temptations which beset him at Herat and Samarcand, they will perhaps imagine that they would have been more virtuous than he. Nevertheless let those who sneer at the failings of him and other eminent men reflect, how many thousands there are, who have the faults of Baber without his better qualities: let them beware also of presumption, "considering themselves lest they also be tempted." And if this volume should be perused by any who are still under the dominion of that vile propensity, let them imitate Baber in his repentance. On the whole there seems to have been nothing in which he acted against his conscience except his drunkenness. Dr. Johnson said that men, who break the shackles of habitual vice, deserve our veneration. Baber had very few out-

ward resources to aid him in accomplishing that object. It was not in his power to enjoy the society of those whose example would tend to preserve his sobriety. He was obliged to sit alone, while his courtiers and Ameers were making merry at wine-parties. Yet he persevered, and at the close of his life, though his mind must have been burthened with the effect of past indulgences, and clouded with superstition, he shewed the self-devoting heroism of parental affection.

On a review of Asiatic history it may appear that the victories of Zinghis and Timour far exceeded the achievements of Baber; and that he had neither the wisdom of Akbar nor the craft of Arungzebe: yet he was a man whom princes and chieftains in the East are proud to call their ancestor; for in martial prowess, in ardour of enterprise, in zeal for objects of public utility, in the love and successful cultivation of literature, in the gaiety of heart which bears lightly the extremes of weal and woe; in strength of natural affection and friendship, and in the exercise of bounty and forgiveness, there has probably been no oriental Prince worthy to be placed on the same level with Zehireddin Mahammed Baber.

Nevertheless, considering the havoc he made in Samarcand, Cabul, and India, was not his

illiterate uncle Ahmed Mirza, whose people enjoyed twenty-five years of tranquillity, more worthy of praise? It is, however, of little importance to estimate the relative worth or delinquency of men, or to prove how much evil and good may exist in the same mind. The contemplation of base and splendid qualities, united in one person, is likely to produce a state of indifference after a struggle between disgust and admiration, or, when the latter predominates, there is a blind partiality, which in the case of Baber would urge that his love of war and plunder was merely owing to the irritability of a sanguine temperament. Men are not likely to believe this, or that he had no love of liquor. But it is to be feared they will not duly reflect on the evil of military ambition. Even when a conqueror has been proved a deceitful selfish tyrant, the brilliancy of his triumphs continues to attract admiration. Men who shudder at the account of a murder, are kindled into enthusiastic delight by hearing that fifty thousand men have fallen in battle to gratify ambition. If another Napoleon were to arise, there would be numbers to applaud him. And there is no less danger in the example of men like Baber and Cortes, who united elegant endowments with so many great and engaging qualities.

The deadliest snakes are those which, twined with flowers,
Blend their bright colouring with the varied blossom,
Their fierce eyes glittering like the spangled dew-drop.

What consolation was it to the Mexicans, that Cortes was of a poetical turn, and introduced the wine and the sugar-cane into their country, or to the people of Cabul that Baber wrote elegantly in praise of their flowers and the scenery around that city? Therefore, putting out of view his odes, and tulips, and the garden of fidelity, let us consider how the chief portion of his life was spent. In early youth he made several expeditions against Samarcand without any right or any provocation. The first of them led to a rebellion in Ferghana, by which that kingdom was long distracted. With respect to Cabul it is true that the throne was occupied by an usurper, and the realm was in a state of anarchy when Baber descended into it from the Hindoo Coosh; but there was a rightful heir in the person of Abdal Rizak, whose interest he never regarded for a moment. After the capital was taken scarcely a month passed in which he or his Ameers did not make a plundering tour. Villages were ransacked, and the winter stores of grain were taken out of the houses. Those who lost their rice must have been driven to rob or starve. Nasir Mirza ravaged the Valley of Light: Jehangir committed havoc and murder

at Kila Baki: Baber went to punish the Masaudi Hazaras, for refusing to send sheep and horses. The Turcoman Hazaras were assailed in revenge of insults and depredation. But no pretence was assigned for the pillage of Kohat and the region east of Solomon's Throne. In the march toward India in 1507, Baber was opposed in a defile by some Afghans, "They are robbers and plunderers," he affirms; for he hated them as an angler hates an otter, "they pray fervently to God for such confusion as then prevailed. Therefore, I caused some of them to be impaled by way of example." That was done by a man, whose army like the household of Henry the Sixth, "could not be maintained without stretching to the utmost the right of purveyance, and rendering it a kind of universal robbery upon the people." so that all through Cabulistan even those who were not ruined by wilful outrage, were not in a more enviable condition than the parts of fuel which escape combustion.

It may indeed very justly be said of Baber that in almost every raid he had in view the protection of his own peaceable subjects, and that he did effectually keep the predatory tribes in check. Nevertheless he had to provide for so many persons of royal and noble blood, as well as the roving Moguls and the ve-

terans of Andejan, that his departure for India was probably an occasion of rejoicing among all the respectable inhabitants of the country, they not feeling any compassion for the Hindoos. But why did he go to India? It was partly because he had lavished upon his nobles the treasure which, properly husbanded, would have prevented the necessity of feeding the troops by plunder. It is probable that the kingdom of Cabul afforded no more spoil for them, and they would perhaps have deserted him if his ambition had not aspired to the conquest of Delhi. The accomplishment of that design occupied the rest of his life. Upon the whole it appears that all the miseries of war endured in the course of thirty-four years in Maweralnahar, and Cabul, and India, must be laid to his charge. And if he were now alive he might reply that the means by which the English founded that power which gradually extended over Hindostan until the heir of his imperial grandeur became a mere pensioner on their bounty, were of such a character that Burke, when he was arraigning the administration of Hastings, thought it best to say of English misdeeds in the former age, "A sacred veil must be drawn over the origin of all governments." Burke did not live to share the illumination of our time, in which it has been discovered that a man may commit great crimes, and

yet no cemetery in England is worthy to hold his remains except Westminster Abbey.*

In considering the whole life of Baber, how great an evil his ambition appears in comparison with his drunkenness. Yet his conscience was perpetually stinging him on account of this, while in his military career he felt all the glow of innocent hope, and had the most full enjoyment of a triumph. "Fame is a second existence," he exclaimed in the temper of a man whose name was already illustrious, and knew that he should be renowned in after-ages. How can it be otherwise? "As long as men bestow the highest praise on their destroyers, the love of military glory will be the vice of the most exalted characters."

It may be that the love of fame is but a desultory passion, and therefore we will pass on to consider the other ingredients of military ambition. Bishop Butler, in his 'Analogy,' has remarked, that if men were to come into the world in full maturity of strength and intellect, without the self-command that is acquired in boyhood, they would be unbearable in society. Have there not been many full-grown ungovernable babes in the world? In what respect was Alexander or Attila under social restraint, or that

* Macaulay's Essays, vol. iii.

"great child of honour," Zehireddin Muhammed Baber? But let us enlarge upon that idea. Were a babe suddenly to acquire the vigour of an adult, with consummate talent and the power of an absolute monarch, and instead of killing insects and breaking toys and baubles, were to begin killing men and pulling towns in pieces, and were cheered on by every companion and servant, and the supreme minister of religion, telling him that it was necessary for his honour, and the only way to save his own empire from invasion, and that he was led by Divine inspiration and might expect the blessing of God upon his cause, and were assured by a philosopher that on account of the superior virtue and talent of his subjects it was lawful to subjugate all other nations, and were informed by a learned prelate* that he was not blameable for cruelties committed in the mere exercise of his vocation as a conqueror, and were told by a celebrated writer on the wealth of nations that the art of war is the noblest of all arts; and were flushed with the hope of seeing new scenery, rivers, cataracts, romantic dells and snowy mountains, and of obtaining rubies and diamonds without number, and other jewels enough to make an artificial

* Bp. Thirwall, Hist. of Greece, vol. vi. p. 294.
"'Tis no sin for a man to labour in his vocation."
Falstaff.

peacock to adorn his throne; and of indulging his taste to the full in erecting stately palaces, minarets, and temples, and in altering the course of rivers; and were told by the same learned prelate,* that the austere simplicity which disdains superfluous enjoyment is almost inseparable from coarseness of sentiment; and should foresee that he would have money to spend in dainty viands at the rate of six millions sterling in seven months; and that he should be able to escape the extreme of heat and cold like a swallow, by changing his abode with the season; and have many thousand horses and elephants, camels to fight and pigeons to tumble for his entertainment; in short, all minerals, vegetables, and animals at his command;—how could that despot child withstand these allurements? As well might a straw on the edge of the Maelstrom resist the indraft of that whirlpool. Moreover were he to read in an Essay by the most illustrious author of his time, that all human thought hitherto bestowed upon any higher object than that of making imperfect creatures comfortable has been spent in vain;† and were he to know that the most wise and reverend men in his dominions would be ready to converse with him,

* History of Greece, vol. i. p. 339.

† Macaulay's Essays, vol. ii. p. 392, 383.

that the fairest would minister to his pleasure, that he should have it in his power to transport the inhabitants of his capital city five hundred miles to settle in another city, and then bring them back again; to regulate the prices of all commodities; to make money pass at double its real value; to borrow money at eight per cent, and pay only five; to give thousands of pounds to wretches upon whom a shilling would be thrown away; to make eight tributary princes row him in a barge; to put a cook to death for not seasoning the sauce according to his palate; to form a guard of six thousand youths clad in black monastic mantles,* and employ them in sacking and burning the towns and villages of his own empire, in plundering monasteries, and casting his people by thousands into a river; to condemn the most noble of his courtiers to ignominious public chastisement; to destroy all the best of his people by torture; to compel whole nations to be baptized; to sit in a lofty summer-house near the sea, and aim arrows at all the boatmen below;† to arrest the progress of knowledge for centuries by burning libraries, and allowing his soldiers to litter all their horses with the leaves of books;‡ to punish with whip-

* Ivan the Terrible, Czar of Russia.

† A Sultan of Turkey.

‡ Zinghis at Bokhara.

ping and expulsion from the university all who pronounced Greek in a manner which he thought wrong; to put noble persons in prison for marrying against his will; to make tall women marry his tall soldiers; and suppose that he heard a lecturer in a great university affirm that war is beneficial, and even the proper agency by which one community influences another;* and that he were advised by a Christian physician to divert his mind with the thought of war in order to remove the gloomy vapour that oppressed his brain; and that he heard a historian declare that war renders men fitter for a future state of existence;† and that the neighbouring princes, men far inferior to him in talent, gave him to understand that they would exchange the language of respect and friendship with him if he would but share equally with them the spoil of petty states, and combine heartily with them to hoodwink the rest of mankind, and acknowledge with complacency that he was like them a half and half, and had struck the same bargain with the devil; and suppose him to feel assured that he could play a better game with the devil than they, that he could entangle them in their own web, conquer them in the face of day, and make

* Miller.

† Alison's Hist. of Europe, vol. x.

it evident to all Europe that he scorned to hold an acre of ground by compromise with such canting wretches, saying to himself, like Iago, "Whip me such honest knaves!"

In fine were that despot to foresee that in spite of cruelty, perjury, adulteries, and murders, he would be served with enthusiastic fidelity by thousands, and be admitted to the Eucharist by his confessor, and be commended in a funeral sermon for zeal against the doctrine of perfectibility,* and be styled an earthly Providence by Roman Catholic Bishops;† and that in after time his name would be blended with the glories of eloquence and poetry; with so brilliant a prospect, or any part of it shining upon him, how could he resist the temptation?

All the melancholy, disgust, ridicule, and horror, excited by these royal freaks, would be obliterated from the mind; could we but think with Lord Bacon, that "there is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour. Why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if a man should do wrong merely out of ill nature, why? it is but like the thorn and briar which prick and scratch, because they can do no other." In the first

* Louis XIV. † Napoleon.

sermon of Bishop Butler, there is a passage which accords with the opinion of Bacon. "As there is no such thing as self-hatred, so there is no such thing as ill-will, emulation, and resentment being away, whereas there is plainly benevolence: there is no such thing as love of injustice, oppression, and treachery, ingratitude, but only eager desires after certain external goods, which the most abandoned would choose to obtain by innocent means, if they were as easy and effectual to their end." So far as the mind is diverted from personal animosity by the love of fame, wealth, and power, and by the vicissitudes of military adventure, it is much better than to be acting in the consciousness of hatred; and this will account for the good feeling evinced by Baber to the end of his life. But all those passions, which at intervals had power to keep hatred out of his mind, tended in the main to produce and fix it there: and perhaps those passions would never have taken root if the principle of self-love had not been stronger in him than the principle of benevolence. At any rate, if Bishop Butler had told Ibrahim Lodi that the man, who without any provocation marched from Cabul and took away his empire and his life, had no ill-will against him, but only coveted the possession of India; he would have answered, "A thing is what it is, and not something

else. You have said that we may determine the moral character of an action before we consider whether it be interested or disinterested. Allow me then to say, that there was ill-will in him, before I inquire whether the chief object of his invasion was the large diamond at Agra. And I believe that, notwithstanding his benevolence, he would have thought it comparatively a dull employment to take possession of my dominions without a battle."

Enough of this. It was evident in the time of Cain and Abel that men are born with capacities of vice and virtue, pleasure and vexation, affection and hatred. Some inherit an amiable disposition and retain it by Divine blessing through life; others are wayward from their birth, and continue to be mischievous to the very last. There is another class, to which Baber belongs, who are entirely made up of opposite qualities. In them the higher kinds of selfishness, namely, ambition, intellectual pride, and the love of freedom, give way to the inferior,—intemperance, or indolence, or timidity. Perhaps if he had been asked how with such an ardent love of conquest he could so weaken his frame and shorten his life by intoxication, he would have replied, "The excitement of war comes but seldom; in the intervals of leisure my spirit disdains melancholy, and requires some joyous

impulse. Those who obey the law of our Prophet seem to have but little of real happiness. Many of them beguile the time with insipid amusements. How can a man, whose heart has been wont to thrill at the sound of the trumpet, be content to pass whole days in respectable dulness? Wine rekindles the flush of hope; it fills me with lively fancies: amid the charms of unmeaning pleasantry and venial impertinence all anxiety is removed: my mind expands with universal benevolence, so that I feel inclined to salute every one as a bosom friend." Such are the sentiments of men, whose excesses make honest and decorous conduct appear very precious until people begin to tire of it, and think that something is needful besides integrity, and a competence, and health, and a friendly disposition, and a good understanding. But this is commonly nothing but a momentary glimpse of truth. The door, through which they looked out upon the open country, is soon shut again, and they continue to tread their daily path within the circular wall. They hear of insanity that came of excessive study, or of disease brought on by eccentricity, and then they sink back into indolent suspense, or embrace the vague idea that a medium is best in all things, because superlative good appears to be inseparable from superlative evil. That opinion

has some colour of reason, since in many things a medium is perfection; as economy is a medium between avarice and prodigality, and religion is a medium between fanaticism and impiety. These considerations lead some men towards an undefinable point between truth and error, between love and hatred, between certainty and uncertainty. This golden mean being a thing impalpable, and indeed a mere delusion of the fancy, it easily harmonises with the idea that all reflection beyond ordinary prudence is baneful; that the welfare of one mind, or of a nation, cannot be enhanced, but will probably be impaired by thinking about it. "Human life is like thin ice, and those who skate upon it, should beware of stopping to consider whether it will bear them. Do not urge us to take counsel for fear. All troubles are aggravated by the consideration of them. A merry heart is the best preparation for meeting adversity with cheerfulness. Anxiety about the future, is like yielding to an enemy before the battle. Why should we check our speed in the circle of pleasure to consider whether there be any thing more delightful? How pleasant it is to swim with the stream, or to be like those dark green weeds that lie along the stream, and while they are fastened by the root to one spot, sway gently to and fro in obedience to the wavering current! It is

want of modesty in any one to depart from the custom of his forefathers. Those who at times rise above others, ever and anon fall very far below them." The careless lovers of gaiety, and those who hate extremes, both of good and evil, may find in every part of history some combination of wisdom with folly, or of illustrious virtue with gross failings to fortify them in their opinion. Therefore they continue to float along the surface of life obedient to the winds and waves. To them, and to those whom they despise, those who with higher aspirations are continually sinking into vice, the same language may be addressed, "I would ye were hot or cold." They observe a part of the Divine law every day, else they would be ruined and die. Why do they at a certain point abandon all thought of it? Why not explore all the beauty and excellence of it? For that which has power to ward off disaster will probably have equal power to bestow felicity. They seek full satisfaction of every desire but that which is the noblest of all, the desire of perfection. This, the love of what is pure and acceptable with God, is seldom cherished: it does not become, like hunger and thirst, the more intense the longer its gratification is denied. They make a series of efforts to escape blame, and loss, and pain every day, and strive eagerly for the com-

mon rewards of prudence and industry; and there they make a stand. Many do not rest there, but fall back rapidly to a very low place. They make a toilsome ascent among morasses and over crags nearly to the summit of the mountain, and just when they are on the point of reaching that pure, serene, and lightsome atmosphere, that level of supreme repose, where in glorious freedom they might contemplate the blue celestial hemisphere, then the neck bends, the eye turns downward; there is a little pause, but the ethereal flame is already extinct. They retrace their course into the lowland, where at one point may be seen the filthy stye, at another the stagnant pool; they are galled with the thorns of anxiety: the chains of fashion are fastened on the limbs; the air is tainted with invisible poison; the mind cowers under restraint, even while describing itself as a prisoner, and comparing itself to a bird in a cage; perhaps at times it makes a floundering attempt to shake off that slavish languor, and exercise the fancied birthright of liberty, but in vain: the nerves have been too long benumbed: the walls are strong and high; the fences are impenetrable, there is but one course along the highroad of custom, and that leads to the abode of gossip, or gambling, or sensual enjoyment. Men of that kind are a mystery. That a man should be endowed

with power to delight and instruct his fellow-men, to win esteem by refinement of taste, and the exercise of generosity: that he should at one time attract observation by energetic action, at another repel it by the cold stupefaction of gluttony or the insolence of wine: at one moment draw a heavenly strain from the lute and harp, and then beguile the tedium of an evening with the reckless levity of an ale-house; divulge all secrets, and drink till the eyes are dim and the temper quarrelsome, and the body is charged with such an exuberance of filth, that at length his own clothes abhor him! — Among the courtiers of Hussain Mirza was Abdalla Marwarid, whom no one could rival in playing on the dulcimer. He was a poet, and a very pleasant companion. Owing to his vices he was attacked with boils, and after several years of acute pain he died. The narrative is brief; but to the wretched man himself how many hours there were of grief and agony, heightened by thinking of conviviality which he could not enjoy, and by desiring the sympathy which he could not claim: how many months and years spent heavily in gloom and remorse, in the blank prospect of annihilation, or the dread of his righteous and irrevocable doom! It is a woeful tale; but far worse is the history of almost every prince whose character is pourtrayed by Baber,— of Omar Sheikh, who was an

orthodox believer, and often read the Koran, and never omitted the five daily prayers, or the retributory prayers and fasts, yet was intoxicated every week — of Mahmud Mirza, who was equally devout, and equally a drunkard, and in other respects more impure — of Hussain, who wrote poetry and presided over a refined assemblage of lettered men and divines, a man who for a long time abstained from the prohibited meats; but after the conquest of Herat for more than forty years drank wine to excess after mid-day prayers — of Khosrou Shah, who prayed regularly, and made a large distribution of food, who put out the eyes of Masaud, and assassinated Baiesanghar with many of his attendants. Those men must either have been, like Baber, making a feeble effort to withstand temptation, or downright hypocrites; or they imagined themselves good men, because they were orthodox; or thought that they were good enough because others were no better, or that prayer and alms made atonement for vice and crime.

If in physical science the observation of opposite effects produced by the same cause induces men to deny the cogency of an assertion founded on one class of effects, how much more likely are the moral principles to be relaxed by witnessing a mixture of good and evil in illustrious and royal persons. When we think of the virtues

and achievements of Baber or of Nelson, is there no danger of losing all simplicity of purpose and clearness of principle? Not that we can deny the obligation of gratitude due from every soul in the British empire to Nelson and others who have broken the marriage vow. And it is pitiful in those who accomplish almost nothing in a private sphere, through cowardice, insolence, or luxury, to sneer at Napoleon or Charles of Sweden. But to extol the characters of men like Cromwell, and Marlborough, and Napoleon, without expressing abhorrence of their worst actions, of which they never repented like David, and did penance for them, this is to give full influence to their pernicious example, and goes far to obliterate all distinctions of right and wrong. It is difficult to define the limits of good and evil; but the main principles of each are easily discerned, and it is a heinous offence to confound them by word or deed. "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness: that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter." That a man should be formed to cheer, elevate, and enlighten society, to legislate with consummate wisdom, to arrest the decay of a nation; to vindicate her honour by his eloquence, or triumph over her foes in battle; that by the successful use of these abilities combined with invincible resolution,

patience, and sobriety, he should obtain rank and wealth, and the applause of millions, and then tarnish all by vice! that after his name has been celebrated in every region of the earth, the eye of chilling indifference and blighted affection should meet him within the walls of his own house! There is no convulsion of nature more dreadful than this. Yet there is in human history a spectacle still more appalling. Oliver Cromwell was accustomed to peruse his Bible; he must there have read the denouncement of divine anger against all lying and hypocrisy. Nevertheless by all manner of frauds, grimaces, and pretences,* during many years, at one moment by tears and falling on his knees, and making vehement asseverations; at another by preaching and praying, and nightly exhortations, and the fervent profession of liberal principles and of piety, he cajoled almost every individual and every party with which he acted. What was the consequence? We have been told that "his spirit, restless from its own buoyancy in a lower sphere, reposed in majestic placidity when it reached a level congenial to it."† Compare this with the account of Hume, "Of assassination likewise he was apprehensive on account of the zealous spirit which actuated the soldiers. He might have better supported these fears had he

* See Memoir of Mrs. Colonel Hutchinson, p. 101.

† Macaulay's Essays, v. i. p. 183.

enjoyed any domestic satisfaction : all composure of mind was now for ever fled. He wore armour under his clothes. Society terrified him while he reflected on his unknown enemies: solitude astonished him by withdrawing the protection necessary to his security." Such was Cromwell. But if the turpitude of deception is to be estimated by the magnitude of its consequences, and the sacred nature of the subject in regard to which men are deceived by it, his guilt was trifling in comparison with that of Mahomet. It has been asserted indeed that the Koran, by introducing a belief in God in the place of idolatry, and by the general effect of its precepts, has been a blessing to many a nation. Let us fairly consider what benefit any individual mind might derive from it.

There are many men who travel along the road of life without a glance at the flowery banks on either side. Baber was not one of these. But we have to regret that after describing so minutely the habits of vicious princes like Mahmud and Hussain, he did not record the habits of one pious Moulla or Sheikh ul Islam. To him it was of more importance to know where the best steel was made into blades than how the poet Jami lived without contamination at Heri, like Fénélon in the voluptuous court of Louis, where every thing solicited the senses, and vice was countenanced by royal example. It is not diffi-

cult to supply by reflection what Baber has failed to communicate. Doubtless there were some at Samarcand and in Khorasan, who obeyed the injunction of the Koran to fast, and pray, and give alms, and found in the daily conquest of their passions a forefeeling of eternal bliss. They understood that "it is not righteousness to turn the face in prayer toward the East and the West, but righteousness is in him who believeth in God, who giveth money for God's sake unto the needy." They believed that the object of fasting is not only to restrain the bodily appetite, but to turn the mind away from low care, and all earthly affection to contemplate God alone. They were taught that no soul can receive Divine truth without the permission of God, and that gratitude is due to Him who inspires men with pious desires; they knew that all good resolutions are of no avail without the divine favour; they found in the Koran and other books a store of sacred meditations to elevate their minds from day to day. They were commanded to glorify God when the evening overtook them, and when they arose in the morning, "and unto Him be praise in heaven and earth, and at sunset, and when ye rest at noon." "Dost thou not perceive that all creatures, both in heaven and earth, praise God; the birds praise Him, extending their wings. Every one knoweth his prayer and his praise,

and God knoweth that which they do." They were instructed to behold the power and bountiful Providence of God in all nature. "It is God who has created the heavens and the earth, and causeth water to descend from heaven, and by means thereof produceth food for your sustenance; by His command the ships sail for your service, and the sun and moon perform their courses. He hath created the cattle to supply you with food and clothing, and they carry your burthen to a distant country. He causeth olives, and palm-trees, and vines to spring forth for you. Here is a sign of divine favour and wisdom. He hath given you dominion over all things in the earth. He hath subjected the sea unto you that ye might eat fish therefrom, and take ornaments to wear. God hath also provided houses for you, and tents of the skins of cattle, which are light to remove on the day of your departure. He hath also given you shelter from the sun, and places of retreat in the mountains. Thus doth He accomplish His favour unto you, that ye may resign yourselves unto Him." Their piety was stimulated by the sight of folly, and strife, and vexation, arising from vice; and at the same time they were commanded not to pry too curiously into the failings of their neighbours. If they met with ill-treatment, they were indeed permitted to take revenge. "If ye take vengeance, take it in propor-

tion to the wrong done; but if you suffer patiently, verily this is better. Wherefore do thou bear opposition with patience; but thy patience cannot be preserved without the aid of God. And be not thou grieved on account of the unbelievers; neither be troubled for that which they cunningly devise. For God is with those who fear Him and are upright." They were taught in the Koran to regard the consequences of virtuous and impure actions. "By the sun and by his rising brightness; by the moon when she followeth him, by the day when it sheweth his splendour, by the night when it covereth him with darkness, by the heaven and Him who formed it, by the earth and Him who spread it forth, by the soul and Him who inspired it with power to distinguish and to choose piety or wickedness; now is he who hath purified the same happy, but he who hath corrupted the same is miserable." They were told also of the judgment to come. "In the houses which God hath permitted to be raised, and that His name be commemorated therein, men celebrate His praise morning and evening, whom neither merchandise nor selling divert from the remembrance of God, and prayer, and alms; fearing the day wherein the hearts and eyes of men shall be troubled: that God may recompense them according to the utmost merit of what they shall have wrought, and may add

unto them of His abundance a more excellent reward; for God bestoweth on whom it pleaseth Him without measure. But as to the unbelievers their works are like the vapour in a plain, which the thirsty traveller thinketh to be water, until he cometh there and findeth it to be nothing: but he findeth God, and God is swift in taking account; but on the last day the wicked shall offer submission unto God, and the false deities, which they imagine, shall abandon them." They regarded the prospect of sensual pleasure in heaven as contemptible in comparison of the other promise of spiritual bliss: "True believers shall have delicious gardens of perpetual abode: but the good-will of God shall be their most excellent reward:" they might understand the description of physical enjoyment in a figurative sense as the song of Solomon is interpreted by Christians. They looked forward to a heaven in which they should hear no vain discourse, but only the salutation "Peace, Peace." They believed that their happiness hereafter would be in proportion to their faith here. "Those who have preceded others in faith shall precede them to paradise. These are they who shall approach near unto God." If at times in the natural progress of thought they were led to aspire after unattainable perfection, and like those who under the Mosaic law striving to love God with all their hearts found themselves more and more

conscious of imperfection, there was the belief in the divine forgiveness to soothe and tranquillise their minds. "For God is merciful and ready to forgive."*

Those who doubt whether such men existed will be still more disinclined to believe that any vicious Moslem could be reformed. For it is more easy to persevere in a virtuous and devout life than to abandon vice. Yet there may have been many such persons. Let a man but abstain for one day, and he will feel an increase of self-command: let him only continue in that course as long as some men continue in the pursuit of wealth, or even of revenge. Let him repent of his sin, and pray for divine aid to overcome temptation. "Whoso shall repent and believe, and shall do a righteous work, unto them will God change their former evil into good: for God is ready to forgive and merciful." Such is the language of the Koran, and it may be added, that "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is acceptable with Him."

There is good reason to believe that such instances of reformation and of uniform piety have been rare among Mahometans. No man can obtain from the Koran much knowledge of himself or of others: nor does it give any special directions for those emergencies in which the

* Koran, c. 22.

best feelings jar with each other, and the strongest obligations seem to draw a man in opposite directions. What Lamartine said of the Arabians, that they seek the guidance of the Supreme Being in all their actions, was a delusive eulogium. They require some particular instructions to correct their worst practices. The Koran contains scarcely any precept for the government of the thoughts. Therefore a Mahometan is likely to believe that religion consists in some occasional observances. When Baber renounced the use of wine, and sent an ostentatious proclamation of his repentance all over his empire, he said that at length he had become a Mahometan indeed, although his ambition and other evil passiens were probably not at all abated. It was that beverage in particular, rather than all intemperance, that he thought himself bound to avoid. Men who abstain from one pleasure are apt to imagine that they may indulge to a proportionable degree in others. Besides this it is far more easy for an intemperate men to fast at times, than to acquire a habit of moderation in diet; and it is more easy to give alms occasionally than to preserve habitual benevolence. Moreover every Mahometan, who had cultivated his natural sense of right and wrong, in studying the Koran would be led to doubt the veracity of Mahomet; and this would shake the basis of his character. He would be shocked

to find sacred truths blended in that volume with extravagant selfish lies. In the 29th chapter the Supreme Being is made to declare that Mahomet could not read or write before the Koran was communicated to him, and therefore that there is no excuse for those who disbelieve its divine origin; and in the 33d chapter He gives to Mahomet the peculiar privilege above all other believers of taking an unlimited number of wives.

Some have imagined that Mahomet was insane. But it is not likely that any one should have been obeyed as he was, while in that state of mind. Others say that enthusiasm leads to deception. Others maintain that deception is proper on some occasions. "A Christian speaks the truth, except when consideration is necessary: and then as a physician for the good of his patient, he will be false, or utter a falsehood, as the sophists say."* It may be that good men in some rare instances, and for no selfish end, have spoken untruths. But no one would bring that forward in defence of swindling, or forgery, or some flagrant breach of trust, or of a man who deliberately at intervals during a course of years penned a whole volume, and asserted it to be a divine revelation.

The author of "Mahometanism Unveiled"

* Newman.—Arians of the fourth century.

has said that the Koran ought to be compared with the Mosaic Law rather than with the New Testament: that the conquest of Canaan was a precedent for Mahomet to follow,* and that the Rabbinical tradition allowed eighteen wives to the head of the state.

Mr. Carlyle, in his "Hero Worship," has asserted more than once † that Islam is a kind of Christianity. As well might it be said that poison is a kind of food. Poison is good for some animals, but to the generality it is poison. He has likewise declared that Islam is far better than the utilitarian doctrines of Bentham. He would have thought otherwise, if he had resided in Syria when it was overrun by the early Moslems. As to the propagation of their creed at the point of the sword he observes, "We do not find of the Christian religion that it always disdained the sword. Charlemagne's conversion of the Saxons was not by preaching."‡ But why compare Mahomet with Charlemagne? The

* The worst features of Mahometanism "find sufficient precedents and parallels" in "the primitive precepts and carnal ordinances of the Mosaic law."

"The conquest of Canaan presents on a diminished scale indeed, but in yet a more rigorous shape, the perfect model for the erection in an after age of the conquering domination of Mahomet." — *Mahometanism Unveiled, by the Rev. Mr.* FORSTER, *Introd.* vol. i. p. 76.

† Hero Worship, p. 119.

‡ Ibid. p. 96.

proceedings of Charlemagne in Saxony are no more to be imputed to the Divine Founder of Christianity than any other of his actions, which are solemnly condemned in the New Testament. With respect to the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, that was done in obedience to a Divine command; and it was for God to choose His own instrument in punishing an idolatrous nation. In reference to the sensuality of Mahomet, Mr. Carlyle quotes a passage from Goethe: "We require that each of our people shall restrict himself in one direction, should we allow him the greater latitude on all other sides;" and he remarks upon it, "There seems to me a great justness in this. Enjoying things which are pleasant: that is not the evil: it is the reducing of our moral self to slavery by them that is. Let a man assert withal that he is king over his habitudes; that he could and would shake them off, on cause shewn; this is an excellent law."* All this requires no comment.

Let no one urge the example of the Patriarchs of the Old Testament as a decisive argument in defence of Mahomet. He knew that the Mosaic Law had been abrogated by the introduction of a purer faith. He might have read, and probably did read in the New Testament, that the law of divorce made for the Israelites was an

* Hero Worship, p. 117.

accommodation to their hardness of heart. It may be affirmed on much stronger evidence than what Gibbon advanced for the authenticity of the Koran, that it was wholly the production of Mahomet. If he had "the eye that flashes direct into the heart of things and sees the truth of them,"* why did he take ideas and precepts out of the Bible, and not see the rest of truth that was there? Let it be conceded that Mahomet could not learn what Christianity was from the example of any Christian in Arabia, and that he had an intense perception of the folly, and vice, and superstition of his countrymen; that he resolved to encounter every hazard in rescuing them from idolatry; that he bore himself like a hero in the execution of that design; that he was temperate and bountiful, and was content with one wife until his fiftieth year; and that in writing the Koran it is just possible, though not probable, that he mistook the progress of his own thought for divine inspiration communicated to him by an angel; that the incoherence of the Koran betokens a fervent mind eagerly pouring itself forth: nevertheless the evidence against his sincerity is very strong. We may believe that at first he was flushed with the consciousness of superior knowledge, and that under the influence of pride and the hope of

* Hero Worship, p. 106.

self-aggrandisement he did not shrink from that awful act of impiety, the promulgation of the Koran; that in the fervour of enthusiasm he cast off all fear of man, and then having no fear of God in the place of it, he wanted both the earthly armour of virtue and the heavenly. Those who once yield to temptation are liable to be carried farther and farther in wickedness. Those who deceive others are in danger of deceiving themselves. The progress of error is described in two passages of Holy Writ as a punishment from above: "And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion that they should believe a lie." Of the Israelites it is said, "Then God turned and gave them up to worship the host of Heaven." There is some evidence besides the main fact of his incontinence, that the disposition of Mahomet became gradually worse. What are said to be the earlier chapters of the Koran contain lessons of patience and humility, which distinguish them from the later chapters: and it was not till his fifty-second year that he invented the tale of his night-journey to Heaven.

What the real state of his conscience was is not to us a matter of prime importance. We know the absolute character of his actions. And since it was he that roused the Arabians to conquest, and gave the sanction of religion to their wars, all the evils of their bloody career must be laid to his account. This is but a slight portion

of the mischief. The author of "Mahometanism Unveiled," after all that he has advanced in favour of Islam, acknowledges it to be a curse in comparison of Christianity, the religion which Mahomet deliberately rejected. And how wide the operation of that curse has been, and is likely to be, over some of the fairest portions of the globe, since it is computed that at the present day there are no less than one hundred and eighty millions of Mahometans! The islanders of the South Pacific are not rendered averse to Christianity by intellectual pride: to the Hindoo the idea of a Sacrifice, and an Incarnation, and a Trinity, are already familiar: but the Mahometans, while they acknowledge the mission of Christ, believe that his prophetical office was superseded in Mahomet, and is worthy of no further consideration: they regard the doctrines taught by Christian missionaries as little better than the tenets of any Pagan nation. Therefore every attempt to convert them in Africa and the East has hitherto been received with settled and contemptuous repugnance.

THE END.

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ERRATA AND NOTES.

Page 35, *for* 29°, *read* 39°.
— 67, *for* Shabrokha, *read* Shahrokia.
— 99, Firoseh Begum would have been better translated Queen Victoria.
— 212, *for* Sigri, *read* Sikri.
— 214, The revenue of Kanouj ought to have been computed in double dams.
— 232, Another instance of a victory gained by means of artillery occurred in 1728, when Prince Tahmasp of Persia overthrew the Uzbeks. He had a train of guns zerb zin (perhaps swivels), and 2000 artillerymen, and 6000 matchlockmen, and his "position was strengthened according to the tactics of Room." Mahomet the Second is said to have learned the use of artillery from a Dane or Hungarian.
— 233, Badia ez Zeman and Mozaffer knelt in homage to their Father Hussain Mirza, when they were appointed respectively to the governments of Balkh and Asterabad.
— 253, *for* oppression on part of, "*read* oppression on the part of."

Printed by Moyes and Barclay, Castle Street, Leicester Square.

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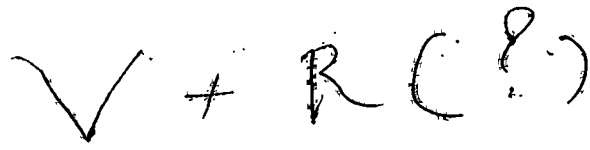

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